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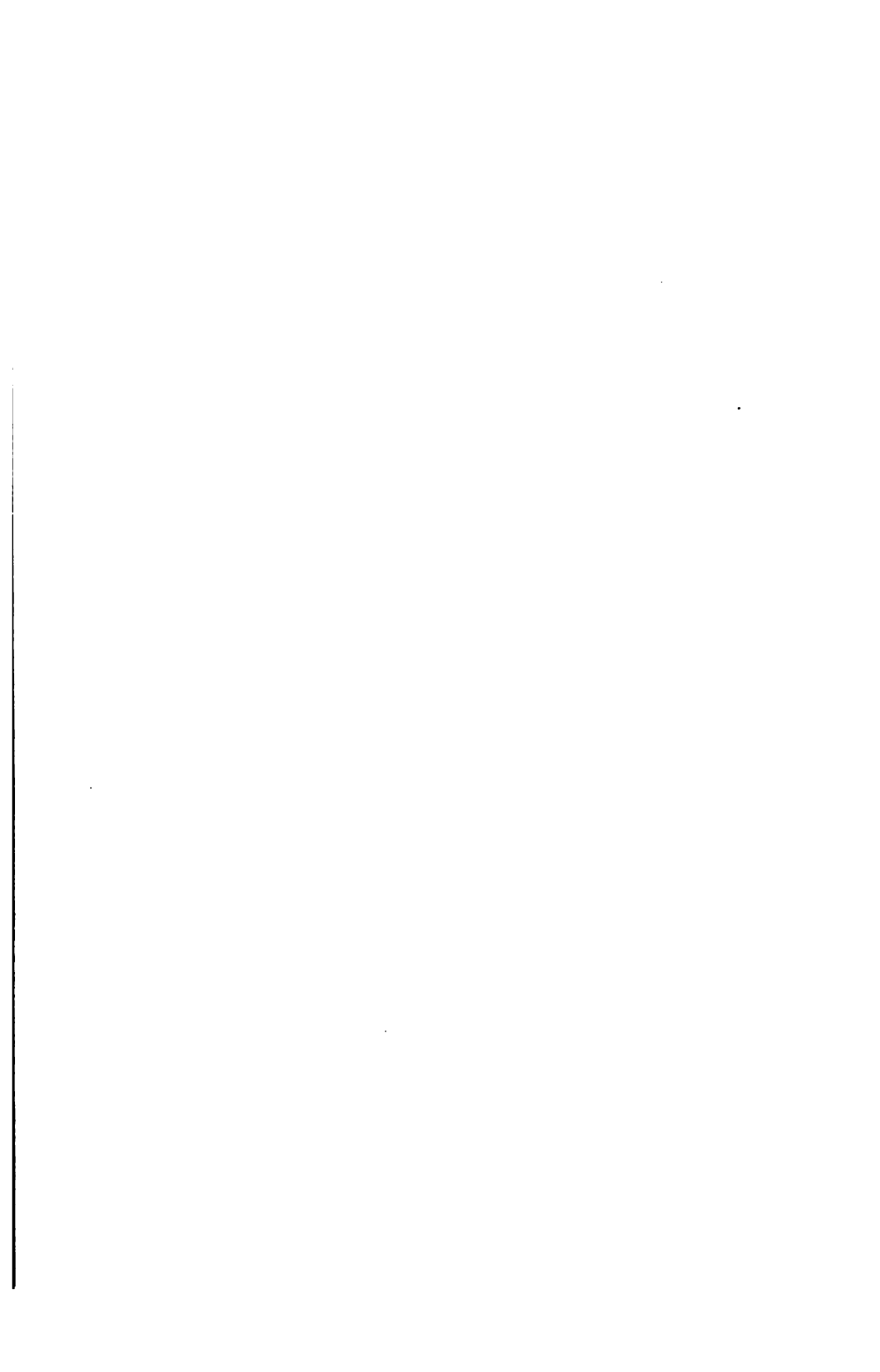


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LONDON:
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PREFACE TO VOL. X.

IN this volume will be found an interesting account of Early Bronze implements found in Montgomeryshire and Pembrokeshire, to which the attention of members is particularly requested. The Association is indebted to the liberality of the Earl of Powis for two of the plates illustrating this subject.

Some valuable Glamorganshire and other documents will also be observed in its pages;—documents of a kind highly interesting to local antiquaries, and well worthy of preservation. It is much to be wished that descriptions and views of ancient manorial houses, armorial bearings, seals, etc., should accompany memoirs of this kind; for suitable illustrations add greatly to their interest. Wales is still rich in old houses of importance, and members may spend their time most profitably in trying to preserve some memorials of them before it is too late.

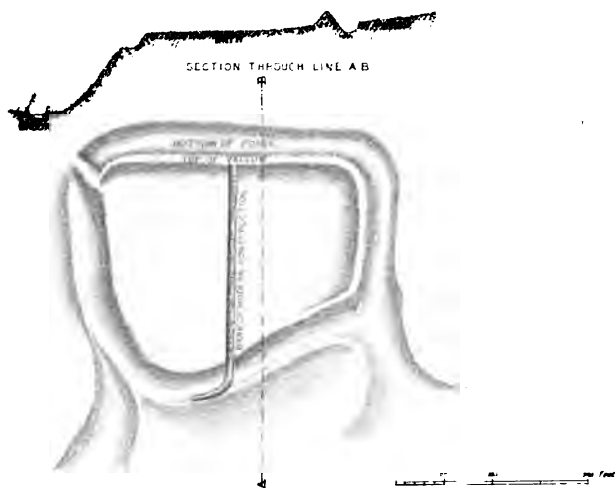
The learned correspondence of various members on Uriconium, Llywarch Hen, and Early Welsh poems, etc., constitute a remarkable feature of this volume.

Contributions of antiquarian intelligence, notes and queries, etc., etc., are solicited from members, espe-

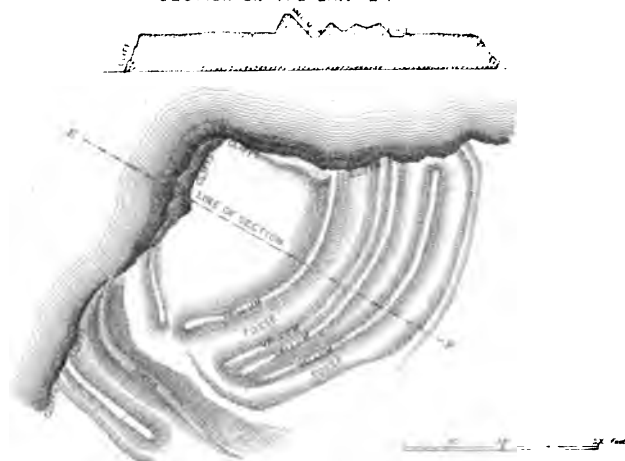
cially such as relate to the preservation or destruction of ancient buildings:—local customs and traditions:—and archæological discoveries of any kind.

Concurrently with this volume two supplementary publications have been issued to members; one being the Second Part of the *Survey of Gower*, etc., an excellent addition to Welsh County History; the other, the *Brut y Tywysogion*, prepared for publication and translated by the late Mr. Aneurin Owen,—the historical importance of which needs no indication. It has been through the kindness of the Master and the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls that this valuable Welsh Chronicle has now at length been edited for the Association.

RATH IN SLADE FARM NEAR LITTLE HAVEN, PEMBROKESHIRE.



SECTION ON THE LINE E F



RATH AT MARLOES.



CAMP NEAR DOWNPATRICK IN IRELAND.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXXVII.—JANUARY, 1864.

THE RATHS OF PEMBROKESHIRE.

ALTHOUGH the whole of Wales abounds in the remains of ancient earthworks, it does not appear that they occur so numerously in any portion of the Principality as they do in Pembrokeshire. Even so far back as the time of Leland¹ they seem to have excited the observation of that learned and laborious antiquary, and to have been referred to in his *Itinerary* as “hills and dikes, with bulwarks of yerth, as campos of men of warre or closures for cattle.” In the situations where those earthworks generally occur, the land has been so little under cultivation that they have been subjected to a very small amount of alteration beyond that which the influences of time alone must necessarily have caused; and they consequently still continue, in many cases, in a state of considerable preservation. They are probably so little altered and affected by the ravages of time, since the period when Leland observed them, as still to afford an accurate idea of their original form and construction. They are usually found situated upon small and precipitous promontories extending into the sea, at various parts of this bold and rugged coast, and frequently occupying highly picturesque and imposing positions. Occasionally, however, they occur in places situated considerably inland; and in those cases are usually found to be

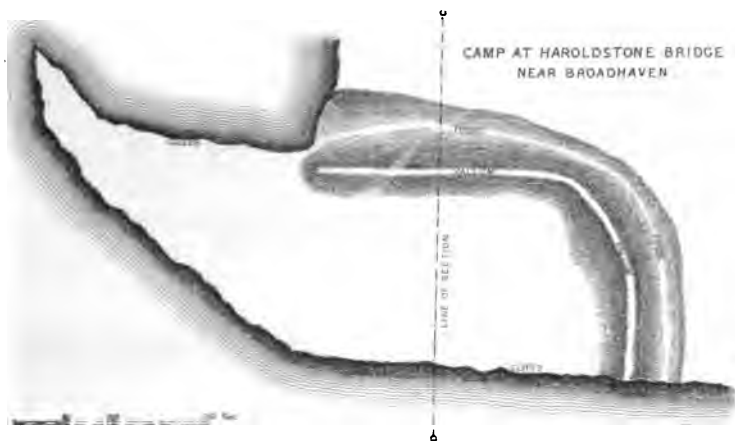
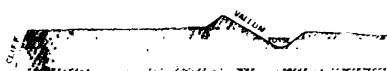
¹ Itin. v, fol. 28.

of larger extent than those that have been planted upon cliffs, or in close proximity to the coast, which in several instances consist simply of a strong entrenchment thrown up across the neck of a rocky peninsula. It therefore appears extremely probable that, while those that were contiguous to the sea had been constructed to repel temporary invasions of the sea-rovers who so continually infested this exposed coast, and also to afford favourable positions for observation and defence, the more extensive and imposing constructions of this character that occur further inland, bear more the appearances of having formed permanent places of abode so constructed as to be available likewise for defensive purposes.

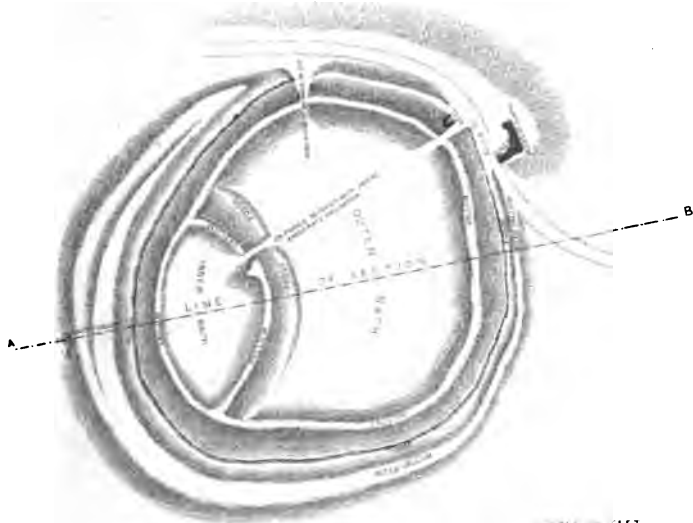
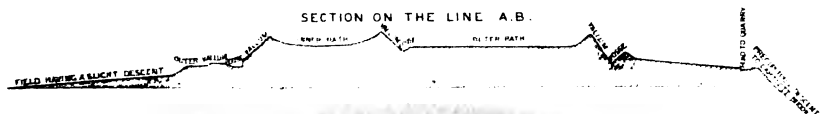
The neighbourhood of St. David's furnishes several interesting examples of this class of earthwork; and they are also numerous along the shores of St. Bride's Bay, and throughout that part of Pembrokeshire, where they are generally known as "rathes" or "wraithes." Popular tradition assigns their construction to the Danes; and throughout the so-called *Englishry* of Pembrokeshire they are usually designated "Danes' raths." The correctness of that view may, however, be questioned; and the assumption is not, in my judgment, sufficiently supported by facts. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, however, holds the opinion that they were constructed by the Danes during their numerous incursions into this portion of Wales; for it is well known that bands of Scandinavian rovers made repeated descents on the Pembrokeshire coast, and committed fearful ravages thereon. Among numerous other instances we find it mentioned that those fierce invaders sailed along the coast of Wales, and spoiled the country, in the year 893.¹ They are stated to have, at that time, sailed from Tydwike, "by the western sea," to Wales with a considerable fleet, under the command of Uther and Rahall; and to have destroyed, among other places, St. David's. Thence they proceeded into Herefordshire, where they fought a battle, in which Rahall, one of their

¹ Wynne's *Wales*, p. 41.

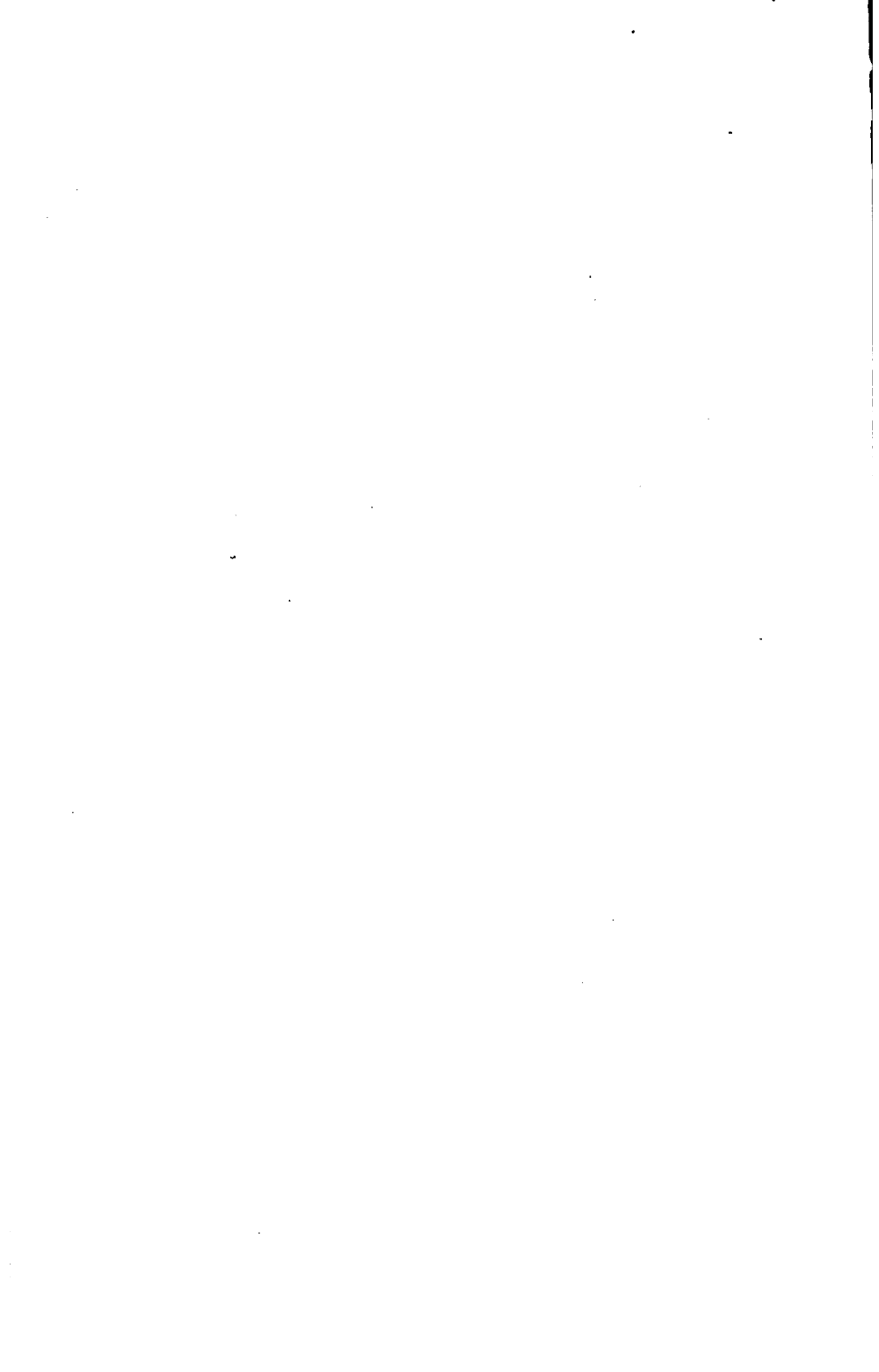
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THE RATH NEAR HAVERFORDWEST IN THE PARISH OF RUDBAXTON.



leaders, was slain. Again, in the year 987, it is represented that the Danes entered the Severn and St. George's Channel, and committed fearful devastation along the entire coast; burning in Glamorganshire the churches of Llan Illtyd, Llandaff, and other religious edifices; and on the western coast, St. David's, Llanbadarn, and other churches and places of considerable importance.

The ruthless ravages committed by these barbarians upon the corn and among the flocks of sheep and cattle, were so destructive as to have produced a general famine throughout the district, which proved fatal to a considerable number of persons. Indeed, the devastating forages of these merciless marauders appear to have been continued during several centuries, and to have entailed severe sufferings and heavy losses upon the unhappy people exposed to their attacks. In the year 993¹ we read of their appearing again on this luckless coast; for we find that the Danes made another attack on St. David's, and destroyed that unfortunate place with "fire and sword"; completing the butchery by murdering Morganey, or Urgeney (called Forgeney in the *Myf. Arch.*). Nor does this sanguinary visitation complete the list of misfortunes and sufferings experienced by St. David's and its unhappy inhabitants; for we find that it was again attacked in the year 1077,² and plundered and burnt by a "company of pyrates" (who most probably were Scandinavian rovers, if not actually Danes), who still continued to make occasional descents on this part of the country, and to prey on the most defenceless portions of the sea-coast.

The extent to which the Scandinavians have affixed names that have outlived so many centuries, to places in the locality, also affords very striking evidence of the frequency of their incursions into the district. Within

¹ This descent is stated by Wynne to have occurred in the year 993; but in the *Myf. Arch.* (*Brut y Tywysogion*, vol. ii, p. 501) the date is set down at 996:—"Oed Crist 996, y daeth y Daniad i Ddyfed o gyngor a phorth Iustin fab Gwrgant ac Aeddau ap Blegaryd, ac a llosgasant Fynyw, ac a lladdasant Forgenea Escob Dewr."

² Wynne's *Wales*, p. 107.

the harbour of Milford there occurs a small islet, called Thorn Island, which has recently risen into some degree of importance from the circumstance of its having been selected as the site of some government fortifications that have recently been erected thereon. This name has clearly been derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Thornege*; and within a short distance of this islet there stands a barren rock called the Stack, that evidently owes its name to the Northmen, being derived from the old Norsk *Stack*. There are two other Stacks known to me in this locality, one of which occurs in St. Bride's Bay, near Little Haven; and the other near Stackpool, the seat of the Right Hon. Lord Cawdor. Then, again, we have in the Severn the Flatholmes and the Steepholmes, which are respectively derived from the Danish *Fladholmene* and *Steitholmene*; on which islets, according to Worsaae,¹ remains of Danish fortifications are still to be seen. Immediately on the coast of Pembrokeshire itself several places also exist that are similarly designated by names derived from those northern invaders; for nearly at the entrance of Milford Haven there occur the islands of Gatholm, Stokeholm, Grasholm (Danish, *Gasholm*), and other small islets whose names terminate in "holm," which clearly indicates their Danish origin, as in that language *holme* signifies "little island." On the side of Milford Haven, and contiguous to some ancient earthworks attributed to the Danes, there is a place called Angle; which, like Anglesey, may either have been derived from *Ongul* (Anglo-Saxon), with reference to its proximity to England; or from the Danish *angel*, which signifies "angle," "fishhook," or "hook" of any kind. Names of places terminating in "ey" also remind us of the Northmen, and are probably derived from the old Norse *œ*, "an island"; and, in the opinion of Worsaae, may be observed in Caldey, Ramsey, Scalmev, and Barrey, on the Pembrokeshire coast. Even the names of Milford and Haverford are probably derived from the Northmen. Milford may have had its origin in the

¹ Danes and Norwegians in England, p. 23.

proper name of *Mjöll* and the Norwegian *fjörd*, with reference to the arm of the sea upon which the place is situated. Haverford, again, may have sprung from the old Norse *hafrar*, or Danish *havre*, "oats"; the word "haver" being still generally employed in that sense in the north of England. Freystrop may also owe its origin to *Freygia*, one of the deities of the Northmen; Hasguard, to *garde*, "an enclosure"; Newgale, to *geil*, a place situated in the hollow of a hill. The following places also occur to me as being similarly derived: Butter Hill, Honey Hill, Silver Hill, Brother Hill, Thurston, Thornston, Hubberston, Lambston, Backston, Haroldstone, and Amblesstone, which may respectively be referrible to the names, *Buthar*, *Hogni*, *Sölvar* (from which Solva may likewise have originated), *Brodor*, *Thor*, *Thorny*, *Hubba*, *Lambi*, *Bakki*, *Harald*, and *Hamill*; all of which are also found in such of the north of England districts as the Northmen are found to have settled in. On the coast of Glamorgan we have a well known place (once the mansion of the Turbervilles) called Sker, which evidently originates from the old Norse *sker* and Norwegian *skar*, a steep or precipitous rock, as this is.

It may likewise be said to lend some confirmation to the view which attributes these earthworks to the Danes, that in Ireland, where they occur in great numbers, they are almost invariably designated, as in Pembrokeshire, "Danes' Rathes." It should be observed that *rath* is an Irish word, and means "a hill or tump"; and it is probable that this name may have been conveyed into Pembrokeshire by natives of Ireland, who appear to have migrated from that country in great numbers during the disturbances that occurred there during the reign of Elizabeth. So great, indeed, was the extent of the migration at that period,¹ and the number of Irish settlers in Pembrokeshire, as to have led the learned George Owen to make the following observations in his *MS. History of Pembrokeshire*,—"As for the Irishmen, they are so powdrid among the inhabitants of Rouse and

¹ MS. History of Pembrokeshire. By George Owen

Castell Martyn, that in every village you shall find the third, fourth, or fifth householder an Irishman; and now of late they swarme more than in tymes past, by reason of the late warres in Ireland; and if it soe continue for the tyme to come, they are like to matche the other inhabitants in number."

Some of the raths were most probably thrown up to repel the marauding Danes; while others, again, may have been constructed to cover the descent of invaders, and either secure their retreat, or procure them a refuge, if suddenly attacked. But whether those earthworks, of which we now find such numerous examples in Pembrokeshire, were employed in supporting or in repelling invasion, were thrown up by the Danes or by the natives, it is quite obvious that they must have been regarded as extremely important, and that they were likely to have been extensively employed throughout the country for defensive purposes; and in some cases probably also for the permanent residence of some chieftains and their retainers, and the protection of their cattle. On this subject Strutt makes the following observations:¹ "As to the forts and castles built by the Danes in England, the remaining earthworks are not to be distinguished from those of the Saxons, but by the accounts that may be traced from history concerning such remains. The general form of them is also like those of the Saxons,—round, with a ditch equally broad and extensive." In the *Philosophical Transactions* the distinguished scholar Edward Llwyd, in his observations on Ireland, speaks of the raths² as "round entrenchments called 'Danes' raths';" and in a recent work on the antiquities of Ireland,³ they are termed "raths or duns." But although Wakeman refers to, and fully describes, several of the largest and most interesting raths that are found in Ireland, the fullest and the clearest account that I have met occurs in an essay written by Dr. Molyneaux, and

¹ Strutt's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Britons*.

² Phil. Trans., No. 336, p. 524.

³ Arch. Hibernica. By W. F. Wakeman.

published in Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*.¹ In that discourse they are designated "Danish forts or raths," and are said to have always been attributed to that warlike people, who are well known to have made numerous incursions into Ireland² at various periods. In Dr. Molyneaux's discourse they are described as being "contrived with ramparts, ditches, or entrenchments, round them, for the defence of those that kept within; these being dug out of the hills on which they stand. They are described by him as being of various sizes, ranging from a diameter of not more than fifty feet to a circumference of three hundred yards: some are, indeed, stated to be so extensive as to embrace an area of nearly twenty acres. They appear to have occasionally been formed with only one side-ditch cast up around the bottom of the rath; while in other instances they are surrounded, or partially encircled, by two or three ditches and their accompanying aggers. The interiors are said to be occasionally somewhat hollowed or depressed at the centre, so as apparently to afford more security and shelter to the defenders. Others are constructed with an elevated mount or tumulus that rose at the centre considerably above the level of the fort, and commanded the whole of the works beneath it. Dr. Molyneaux introduces a sketch of one that existed at Downpatrick, in the county of Down, and which is said to have afforded a good example of the general character of the whole. This rath appears to have had three ramparts, and an elevated mount within the first. If this mount be assumed to be removed, we shall then possess a representation of a rath with a depression in the centre, as is frequently the characteristic of these forts or camps. That which I inspected in the vicinity of Haverfordwest seemed to possess some remains of one of those mounts.

Another variety of rath is that to which I have already referred as being usually situated upon an elevated cliff

¹ A *Natural History of Ireland*. 1755.

² Among the works announced for early publication by the Record Commissioners, is one on the *Wars of the Danes in Ireland*, written in the Irish Language, and which is edited by Dr. Todd.

on the sea-shore. In Cornwall, where they frequently occur, these earthworks are generally designated "cliff castles"; and are, like the others, ascribed to the Danes, chiefly on the ground that as the works were very frequently curved outwards, and the defences so disposed as to be evidently arranged to resist attacks made from the land side, it might therefore be reasonably assumed that they had been thrown up by invaders to cover their retreat, and protect them from any sudden attacks from the inhabitants. This view appears to me to be erroneous; for I entertain a strong conviction that, with much greater probability, they may be regarded as having been constructed by the natives to repel invasion and protect their coasts, while also serving to give notice of the first appearance of an invading enemy. It may be said further, that, if planted on the edge of a bold cliff, the labour of forming entrenchments was considerably abridged, while the strength of the fort was greatly increased by thus rendering a large portion of the rocky cliff available for its protection.

When in Pembrokeshire, about four years ago, I examined a few of those raths, and measured such of them as were conveniently accessible from the bathing place where I then resided. The first that excited my attention, and formed the subject of examination, is situated near a place called Little Haven, which is formed by a small estuary, if it may be so called, to St. Bride's Bay. This earthwork stands on a farm called Slade, which I believe to be in the parish of Walton-West. It is situated upon an elevation that forms the eastern side of a little valley which extends upwards from the bay at Little Haven. The rath is protected on three of its sides by a vallum of considerable height, together with a fosse of equivalent depth, out of which the vallum appeared to have been formed; but on the side overlooking the valley, where the natural fall of the ground towards the little brook that flowed below was sufficiently rapid to render a rampart at that point unnecessary, the vallum trends off gradually and becomes very low, while the

fosse likewise diminishes materially in depth, as shewn in the accompanying sketch. There is an entrance at the eastern corner, which appears to have been originally formed at that point; and the level of the floor of the rath seems unaltered, as it appears to be a continuation of the slope of the field in which it has been formed, falling gradually downwards to the declivity above the brook. At the extremity of the rath, in that direction, the ground has been cut away at the edge of the declivity, so as to form a platform upon which the defenders might plant themselves, and so form a kind of advanced defence upon the top of the bank, where a vallum appeared to have been unnecessary. On two sides of the fort there occur two little ravines which extend down to the brook, and unite themselves to the valley in such a manner as to give considerably greater strength to the work. Viewed as a whole, this situation appears to have been judiciously chosen, and the natural features of the ground very skilfully applied to the purposes of defence. The bank that is seen running through the rath, and dividing it into two portions, is obviously of modern construction. The rath is about a mile distant from the sea at Little Haven; and was probably thrown up to resist an attack from any invaders landing in that little bay, as well as to afford a refuge in the event of an attack on the inhabitants and their cattle.

Lower down the valley already referred to, but immediately opposite the rath, and, from the form of the coast, much nearer to the sea, there are extensive earthworks which are locally known as "The Castle." These remains are situated upon the farm of Howelston, and are placed on a spur of the hill extending into the Little Haven valley. They are now so much cut up, and covered over with furze and gorse, that it is impracticable to distinguish their original character. There are indications of large aggers and ditches of considerable size; but on the edge of the valley they trended off as in the Rath, and gradually diminished.

Another rath, of limited extent but very interesting

character, occurs on the cliffs¹ above Broad Haven, and at a distance of about a mile or so from Little Haven. There appears to be every reason to suppose that this earthwork was thrown up by the natives to resist invasion, by taking advantage, so far as was practicable, of the natural features of the site, as fitting it for defence and observation. Both of those purposes appear to have been admirably provided for here. A little promontory of long and narrow dimensions projects into St. Bride's Bay at this point, and is protected on the sea-side by elevated and rocky cliffs that are most difficult of ascent, and must have proved impracticable to an invader. To render this promontory almost impregnable, so far as could be effected by this character of fortification, it only became necessary to throw up strong earthworks on the land side; which seems to have been effected very completely, so that if defended by a moderate force of resolute men the position must have proved almost unassailable. Two lofty aggers, having deep ditches, were thrown up on the north-western side, which terminated at both ends in precipitous cliffs, and completed the circumvallation most effectually, and with a small expenditure of labour. The length of this promontory, to its extremity, is 123 yards, while its extreme width does not exceed 66 yards. So far as we may reason from probabilities, and from conclusions from the general character of this earthwork and its position, it is difficult to conceive that it could have been thrown up to cover an invading force approaching from the sea. The communication with their ships, even if they could have landed at all near this point, would have been difficult and dangerous; and there appears to me much greater probability that the fort was thrown up by the inhabitants to repel the attacks of their enemies, among whom may most probably be numbered the Scandinavian rovers.

Another rath, of somewhat similar character, occurs near Marloes, and is situated upon an elevated and rocky

¹ At a place called, very singularly, Haroldstone.

cliff which overlooks, at a short distance, the little islet of Gateholm : in which name we at once find another trace of the northern rovers, it being probably derived from the Danish *gateholm*, with which it quite accords,—*gat* being a hole, mouth, or gate ; while *holm*, as I have said before, is an islet or small island. This rath has been constructed of unusual strength, and is protected on the land side by no less than four ditches and ramparts : the inner rampart is the largest, and is of considerable height, as will be seen by the sketch. It will be observed that those ramparts and ditches are particularly strong on the western side, that being regarded as the weaker position, and gradually decrease in number and size towards the eastern extremity, where the nature of the ground has imparted considerable strength ; of which the constructor took the fullest advantage, and strengthened by the formation of outworks thrown out beyond the brook, the sides of which have apparently been scarped, and the works so set out as to cover the entrance of the camp, and render that point more difficult to assail. On the sea-side, again, it may be regarded as quite impregnable, being defended in that quarter by lofty cliffs of the most rugged and precipitous character. There is a striking peculiarity in one of the ditches, which passes out of the main fosse and extends along the eastern ends of the ramparts and fosses which form that portion of the entrenchment ; thus including the whole of the works on the land side within a kind of circumvallation. In other instances, again, the aggers and fosses have been so formed as to merge into each other at the point where they did not appear to require peculiar strength in the artificial works. Having regard to the period of its formation, this camp, though small, was a defensive work possessed of very great strength. Its general character and dimensions will be more clearly shewn by the annexed sketch than by any written description. This camp may be designated one of the “cliff castles” of Pembrokeshire, of which it furnishes a very good example.

The largest of these works with which I am acquainted is, however, one that is situated on a farm called "The Rath," in the parish of Rudbaxton, near Haverfordwest, and upon an elevated spot overlooking Cartlet Brook and Wiston Mill. Its character is somewhat uncommon, from its containing within its exterior vallum an inner camp of smaller dimensions. The general character and dimensions cannot be well understood by any written description, and the reader is therefore referred to the drawing for the details. It is considerably hollowed or depressed in the centre, and was defended by lofty aggers of earth and deep fosses, as shewn on the section. The whole surface of the interior has the appearance of having been raised above the level of the surrounding land; and the inner, or smaller, rath is unquestionably raised very much above the surface of the outer camp. The inner camp is defended by a vallum and fosse: it resembles a kind of keep, and may have been intended for use as an inner defence of that character. Within the smaller camp there are indications of some irregularities in the ground that very probably mark the site of a tump or mount similar to that which exists in the rath at Down Patrick. The bottom of this inner rath is a partially formed ellipse, being hollowed out very slightly at the centre. The larger rath is entered at its eastern side by a capacious roadway, which at its narrowest part is eight feet wide, and widens towards its entrance, it being doubtless constructed for men and cattle. It is commonly said that, when standing in the centre of the rath, no portion of the country is visible from the interior, and that the heavens alone can be seen therefrom. There do not appear to be any traces of outworks to cover the main entrance, nor do I believe that any existed. It will be seen by the dimensions on the plan that the fort was protected by lofty aggers and fosses, and must originally have been a place of great strength.

On the north-eastern side of the rath, at no great distance from the entrance, a well of considerable size still exists, which yields a copious supply of water. Whether

any connexion existed between this well and the fort cannot now be determined, though it is more than probable that some means existed of diverting the water into the rath, and supplying its defenders with water. It is clear that water was readily obtainable, as another spring of water occurs at the distance of a few yards to the north-west of the entrance, in the position shewn on the plan.

It will be clearly seen by the sketch that considerable alterations have been made in the vicinity of the well, a road having been constructed through a portion of the outer vallum at the point which has been altered, though the spring continued to be retained, and was probably employed during succeeding centuries for the supply of the holy fathers, who subsequently dwelt or performed their duties in the adjoining Chapel of St. Leonards. The ruins of this chapel are now so limited in extent that they may well escape observation; and on their discovery, a few years ago, a considerable number of bones were disinterred, and, it is feared, very irreverently dealt with. The Chapel of St. Leonards was at one period a chapel of ease to the church of Rudbaaxton, and in the grant of it by Alexander Rudepac to the Commandery of Slebech, was designated "*Cappella S'ti Leonardi de Castro Symonis.*"

WILLIAM LLEWELLIN, F.S.A., F.G.S., &c.

Glanwern, Pontypool.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FOREST OF RADNOR;

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF SIR GELLI MEYRICK, KNT.,
ONE OF ITS FORMER POSSESSORS.

THE Forest of Radnor was part of the possessions of the Earls of March; and on the succession of King Edward the Fourth to the throne, became, with the other large estates derived by him through Edmund, last Earl of March, vested in the crown.

Before the passing of the act for remedying abuses in the forests of Wales (27 Henry VIII, c. 7), Radnor Forest was a bond, or bounden, forest; and if any subject passed through it without a token from the forester or farmer, he was liable to lose a joint of one of his hands, and to forfeit the money found on his person, or make ransom; and any cattle straying into the forest were marked with the marks of the forest, and forfeited to the forester.

By the statute 27 Henry VIII, all these customs were, from the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, 1536, determined throughout all the forests of Wales and the marches of the same; and all the king's subjects were allowed freely to pass and repass, "as well following and driving of cattle as with carrying of wares or otherwise, about their lawful affairs, through the said forests." A provision was also made by it for the restitution to the owner, by the forester, of all stray cattle on payment of a reasonable sum for their keep.

Thus Radnor Forest was virtually disafforested, and the foundation was laid for a better state of things. The crown, anxious to turn Radnor Forest to account, let it to farm; and the farmer, in his turn, allowed the inhabitants of the adjoining parishes to depasture their cattle on the forest, on their agreeing to pay him a sum certain. This appears by an inquisition taken by virtue

of a commission under the great seal, bearing date the 27th April (6th Queen Eliz.):

"Inquičones indented taken before Robert Davies, James Price, and Edward Price, Esquires, the iij^d daie of October in the vjth yere of the reigne of our Sov'aigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendo^r of the, &c. By vertue of the Quenes ma' comiſſion to them addressed for the survey of Forest of Radnor, hereunto annexed by the corporall othes of Stephen Poell, Clement Dunne, D^d ap Rs ap Ie^{vn}, Arthur James ap Ie^{vn}, William Duppa, Watkin D^d Bedowdee eift ap Hoell ap Richard, Rice ap Meredith, Ll'n Goz,¹ Mēdd ap Stephen, Meredith ap Owen, Lewes ap Ie^{vn}, John Evans, Rice Hoddell, Ie^{vn} ap R's of Llanergh, and Hoell ap Ie^{vn} ap Philip, who upon their othes doo saie and present, That the said Forest of Radnor doth extend to the number of three thousand acres of all sorte and kindes of lande, or thereabout, viz. two thousand acres of wast heath and wild, foggy and marish groundes; viij acres of lowe shrubbes and bushe of smalle hazill and thornes utterly destroyed by reason the same have been hewen and cutt down by th'inhabitant dwelling there about all waies owt of season, and at the spring tyme eaten and consumed wth wild bests and goats. Two hundrethe acres thereof lieng in sondrie landes of the said forrest, is somewhat more batefull then the rest, or whereon shepe and other cattell most comenly doo pasture. And doo saie and presente that the yerely rent of the said forrest is nowe ix^s paid and aunswered by the teñnte and comoners there unto one Stephen Vaughan gent., underfarm^r unto one Gibbes who hath the same forrest in farme or otherwise in bargayne from Wiłm Abbott esquire. And further the said Jury doo saie and present that the small hasille and thornes cannot be valewed to any certen price, for that the same will not surve in manner for no purpose, being cleane and utterly distroied as aforesaid, and by means thereof none of the teñnte or inhabitaunte thereabout will geve any some of money for the same. And also the said Jury doo saie and present that the said forrest is meared in māner and forme enſewing, viz., from a place there called black poole up a brooke comynge downe Stalbeche, unto a place quarell Rees ap D'd, and from a litle cwme or ditche nere the same quarrell straight over the wild, foggy marishe, unto a place called Crosse Lloid, and from the same Crosse Lloid unto a certen place there called y sarme gerrick, and so along a comen waie there leading to Bulche-y-claieth yr hudee, and

¹ ? Goch.

from thence unto a brooke or water called Cume colloyd, and so rounde about the hille to a certen farme called Llanevan, and from the same Llanevan unto Cume Llegoden, and from thence unto a certen place called Tomen y Castell, and from the same Tomen y Castell round about the hill called the Mount, pcell of the said forrest, unto a certen place called the Wenva, and so to a place called Lloyber y fene, and from the same place called Lloyber y fene along the crest of the hill above and over the Nanttie unto a place called Clifte tung, and down from the same place to Rue giver molenithe unto a certen cūme and water leading to the same black poole first named. And the said Jury doo saie and present that the said forrest contayneth aboute two myles from a certen place called Maise mellan unto the said place before mençoned, called y sarne gerrick, and doth contayne in breadithe a myle and a half or there aboute, viz., from the said place called Quarrell R's ap D'd, and the upper parte of Stalbach, unto Cume Llegoden before specified. And likewise the said Jury doo saie and present that Will'm Abbott esquior hath the same forrest to him geven for and during his natural lief, wthout rent, by our late Sov'aigne Lorde King Henry th'eight by his tres patente, and that Stephen Vaughan gent. is nowe farmer of the same forrest under the said Abbott and his underfarmours as aforesaid. And the said Jury do also saie and present that the said ixth or thereabout is going of the said forrest yerely, w^{ch} is paied and annsered by th'inhabitannts and the Quene's Highnes, teñnte of the sev'all pishes of New Radnor, old Radnor, Cascopp, Blethvaugh, Llanvuhangell Ridithon, Llandecley, Llanvihangel Nantmellan, and other places, who have and have had free comōn of pasture there tyme out of minde in the said forrest, for all manner their cattall, saunce number paieing a certain chense¹ or comodogeth for the same cattell yerely, for wynter and somer, unto the forster or farmor of the said forrest ratablie in manner and forme following, viz. ijd. for ev'y oxe, cowe, or other best, and for ev'y horse, mare, colte, or'ther kinde of catle; and iijd. for every score of shepe or goats and under, if the teñnte and owners of the same cattell could so agree with the same forster or farmor of the said forrest. And in case the said teñnte could not so agree with the said forster or farmor under the rate before mençoned, then the utter chense and comodogeth was that the said farmor could sett or taxe the said ijd. for ev'y best and cattell, and iijd. for every score of shepe and goats. And finally the said Jury do saie and present that the said forrest is

¹ Cess, or rate. "Tributors or chensers" are mentioned as officers in the forests in 27 Henry VIII, c. 7.

worth yerely to be lett owt to farme ix^{li} and not above, for that the farmor thereof shall be dryven to goo from pishe to pishe yerelie to make his book for the same chense and comodogeth, and levy the same againe upon the 'pooffe.' In witness whereof to thies Inquicons indented, the said Comysion's and we the said Jury have putte our seales the daie and yere first above written.

"Memorandum, that before the statute and ordynaunce made for Wales, the said Forrest of Radnor was a bond forrest, so that neither any of the king's subjects then being, or any kind of best, durst come or be driven into the said forrest wthout agreement wth the farmor or fořster; and if any would come and be taken, the bodie of any subject should lose a lym or make ransome, and the cattell should be furthwth forfaite; so at that time the fořsters or farmors of the same forrest used to sett, tax, levy and gather greater chenses and comodogeth upon the teñnts by reason they were inforced to agree as well for their owne libertie to goo to the said forrest to and fro wth their cattell as they were for the chense of the same cattell, and sithens the same forrest was made free for all subjects to passe and repasse quietlie their chense was well knownen ratablye as above is declared, and as it doth and maie appeare by order taken by the King's Counsaile then being in the marches of Wales betwene the fořsters and the teñnte.¹

"ROBERT DAVY, *Sup'viss.*

"JAMES PRICE.

"EDWARD PRICE."

By a decree² of the Court of Exchequer, made on the 2nd day of May in the fifteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, stating that "A complaint was lately exhibited into the said court by one Hugh Davies, in the name of himself and a number of other persons inhabiting within the parishes of New Radnor, Old Radnor, Cascob, Llanfihangel Nantmellan, Llandegley, Llanfihangel Redithon, and Blethvagh, adjoining to the queen's majesty's Forest of Radnor, supposing that one Rees Lewes, her majesty's fermor of the said forest, had of late exacted upon them greater rates for the pasturing of their cattle in the same forest than of right he ought

¹ Vid. *South Wales Enrolments*, vol. v, pp. 183-4.

² This decree is among the records in the custody of the Master of the Rolls.

to take, and that he had interrupted them of the cutting of certain fuel called "maon"; in which said forest the said plaintiffs, by their said complaint, pretended to have common of pasture for all their cattle saunce nombre, and to dig their said fuel called "maon," paying certain small sums of money, alleging it to be payable by their custom time out of mind, as by their said bill of complaint more at large appeared; and stating that upon hearing of the matter opened in the said court by the counsel of both sides, it had been made manifest unto the same court as well by an act of Parliament concerning certain exactions of old time taken in the forests in Wales, made anno 27 Henry VIII, and by an inquisition lately taken by the oaths of sixteen of the said inhabitants remaining of record in the said court, as also by a number of records of accompts and court rolls, that the said forest was a bond forest, so as no man might put any cattle to pasture in the said forest, or take any other profit or commodity in the same, without agreement first had and made with the forester or farmer for the time being; so as their said claim of common and prescription of rates was found utterly void and insufficient. For as much as the said Hugh Davies and the rest of the inhabitants of the said seven parishes, by him had submitted themselves to the grace of the queen's majesty, and order of the said court, touching the premises; as also the said Rees Lewes, her majesty's fermor, had very honestly agreed to do for his part. It was therefore ordered by the said court in manner and form following:—*First*, that all the inhabitants of the said seven parishes, from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past, during the term of years yet to come in the lease granted to the said Rees Lewes, should have pasture within the said forest for such and so many of their own proper cattle, of the kinds thereafter named, as they lust: in which cattle none other than themselves had any interest, nor being taken by them to agistment, yielding and paying yearly in the Feast of the Purification of our Lady and St. John Baptist, by even portions,

the several yearly rates hereafter noted, and not above, viz.: for every ox, cow, and other kind of beasts, above the age of yearlings, 6*d.*; for every bullock and heifer being yearling, 2*d.*; for every horse, gelding, mare, and colt, 6*d.*; and for every score of sheep, 12*d.*: all the said beasts, cattle, and sheep, to be from time to time marked with the known marks of the said several towns. *Item*, that it should be lawful for the said fermor, within ten days next after any of the said feasts, to distrain the cattle of such inhabitants as should be behind with their said payments. *Item*, that the inhabitants should yearly from thenceforth, the next day after Michaelmas Day, within the said town of New Radnor, signify unto the said fermor or his assigns how many, and of what kind, of the said cattle, beasts, and sheep, every of them were minded to have to pasture within the said forest the year following. *Item*, that no goats or swine be suffered to feed in the said forest, but only in such places, for such time, and at such rates, as the fermor should like of. *Item*, that no turbary or turfs, called "maon," be digged in the said forest, but only in such places and at such times as the said fermor should like of; every tenant that should take turbaries paying yearly to the fermor 12*d.* *Item*, that the fermor should use, take, and receive, all such other profits, commodities, and advantages, as by virtue of his said lease he might lawfully do before the said order was made. Finally, that the said order should stand and be in force during the time aforesaid, unless the said court, by some notorious disorder or vexation committed by the inhabitants aforesaid, against the said fermor or his assigns, should think fit and convenient to undo and reverse the same."

By another decree, made on the 12th February (17th. Queen Eliz.), provisions were made for payment of a sum of money to the fermor for calves, foals, and fillies, under the age of a yearling; for the mode of dealing with stray cattle, and cattle not agreed for; and substituting the day next after the Feast of St. Philip and St. James for the day after Michaelmas, as the day on

which the inhabitants were to signify to the forester what number and kind of cattle every of them minded to have pasture the year following.

The regulations made by these decrees for depasturing cattle on the forest did not cease with the lease granted to Rees Lewes ; but they have been ever afterwards adopted by the forester down to the present time.

By letters patent under the great seal of England, dated at Westminster in the thirty-first year of Queen Elizabeth, the agistment, as well hiemal as estival, of the whole Forest of Radnor, with the liberties, etc., in the county of Radnor, and the pannage of hogs, and wild honey, and waifs of the said forest, and also the turbaries there happening, and divers other profits, were granted to Sir Gelli Meyricke, Knight, dame Margaret, his wife, and Rowland Meyricke, for their lives, and the life of the longest liver of them successively, at the yearly rent of £10, and one best beast for a heriot, on the death of any of them dying tenant in possession.

Sir Gelli Meyrick was the eldest son of Dr. Rowland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor ; his wife was a daughter of Jevan Lewis of Gladestry¹ (a descendant of David ap Lewis of Harpton),² in the county of Radnor, and was the widow of John Gwyn³ of Llanelwedd in the same county.

By this marriage he acquired a mansion-house, called the Court of Gladestry, where he resided, and other lands in the parish of Gladestry, Radnorshire.

Sir Gelli accompanied Robert, first Earl of Essex, in all his military enterprises, except the expedition to Ireland ; and on the capture of Cadiz in 1596 was knighted by the earl in the principal square of Cadiz.⁴

Through the influence of the earl he had, in the

¹ Vid. "Llanvair Llythynog," Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitation of Wales*, vol. i, p. 254 ; and "Gladestry," *Hist. of Radnorshire*, by Williams.

² "Old Radnor, Harpston," *ibid.*, p. 253.

³ "Llanvair y Bryn Glanbran," *ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴ See Meyrick Pedigree, Lewis Dwnn, vol. i, p. 137.

thirty-seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, obtained a grant from the crown by letters patent, to himself and Sir Henry Lindley, of the City of London, Knight, of the Honor and Manor of Wigmore, with the castle and demesne lands thereto belonging (late part of the possessions of the Earl of March); the Forest of Darvold, the Manor of Burrington, and the Forest and Chase of Mochtree, Prestwood and Bringwood, with the lands thereto belonging, in the county of Hereford.

In addition to the grant of the Forest of Radnor, he appears also to have obtained a grant from the crown for a term of years of the heriots which happened within the lordship of Mellenith and Gwerthllinion, and of a mill and lands in the parish of Disserth, in the county of Radnor.

As steward of the earl's household, Sir Gelli Meyrick became involved in the consequences of the Earl of Essex's rebellion.

It will be out of place here to enter into a narrative of the proceedings of the Earl of Essex, except so far as they relate to Sir Gelli Meyrick.

On Sunday, the 8th February, 1600, the Earl of Rutland and Southampton, Lord Sandys, Lord Mount-eagle, and about three hundred gentlemen, assembled at Essex House, in the Strand, and were informed by the Earl of Essex of his resolution to enter the city and call on the people to join him against his enemies.

The Queen hearing of the assembly, sent the Lord Keeper Egerton, the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice Popham, to Essex House to remonstrate with the earl. On their arrival they were let in at the wicket to the court, which was thronged with the earl's adherents. The lord keeper and his companions, amidst much clamour, demanded a private interview, and followed the earl into his book chamber, where the earl closed the door on them, giving the charge of their custody to Sir John Davies; then leaving the charge of his house with Sir Gelli Meyrick, he issued forth with his troop towards the city.

On the failure of his enterprise and return to Essex House, the earl found that his prisoners had been liberated by his friend, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who, anxious for his own safety, had returned, and in the earl's name desired Sir John Davies and Sir Gelli Meyrick to release them.

The earl returned by the river and entered at the water gate ; Essex House was immediately surrounded by the forces under the command of the lord admiral, and after a parley of some duration, the earl despairing of success, surrendered the same night.

He was shortly afterwards arraigned and convicted of high treason, and his execution took place on the 25th February, 1600.

On the 5th March following, by a special commission, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Davers (or Danvers), Sir John Davis, Sir Gelli Meyrick, and Henry Cuffe (the earl's secretary), were arraigned, tried and convicted of high treason.

Lord Bacon says :—

“ Against Sir Gelly Meyrick the evidence that was given charged him chiefly with the matter of the open rebellion, that he was as captain or commander over the house, and took upon him charge to keep it and make it good as a place of retreat for those which issued into the city, and fortifying and barricading the same house, and making provision of muskets, powder, pellets and other munition and weapons for the holding and defending of it.

“ And further to prove him privy to the plot, it was given in evidence that some few days before the rebellion, with great heat and violence he had displaced certain gentlemen lodged in an house fast by Essex House, and there planted divers of my Lord's followers and complices, all such as went forth with him in the action of rebellion. That the afternoon before the rebellion, Meyrick, with a great company of others, that afterwards were all in the action, had procured to be played before them the play of deposing King Richard the 2nd.

“ Neither was it casual, but a play bespoken by Meyrick. And not so only, but, when it was told him by one of the players that the play was old, and they should have less in

playing it because few would come to it, there were 40s. extraordinary given to play it, and so played it was."¹

On the 13th March, 1600, Cuffe (the secretary) and Sir Gelli Meyrick were drawn to Tyburn and there hanged, disembowelled and quartered, dying very resolutely. The inquisition taken at Presteign on his attainder is fortunately still accessible in the Record Office.

As it throws a light on the history of Radnorshire, a translation of it is here added, with an exact copy of the other schedule annexed to the commission, containing an inventory of Sir Gelli's goods and chattels, with their value.

Radnor.—Inquisition indented taken at Presteign in the county aforesaid, on the 25th day of April, in the 43rd year of the reign of our Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen defender of the faith, &c., after the attainder of Robert late Earl of Essex, Henry late Earl of Southampton, Charles Danvers,² Christopher Blount, John Davies,³ Edmund Baynam, Gelli Meyrick, Knight, and John Littleton, Esq., lately attainted of high treason, committed and perpetrated on the 8th day of February, in the 43rd year aforesaid, before Henry Guldeford, Knight, Herbert Croft,⁴ James Pryce,⁵ Hugh Lloyd and Jeffrey Duppa, Esquires by virtue of a commission of our said Lady the Queen under the Great Seal of England, bearing date at Westminster on the 24th day of March last past, to them directed, and to this Inquisition annexed by the oath of Rees Lewys, Gent., Charles Weaver, Gent., Philipp Goz, Gent., Edward Flower, Gent., Nicholas Meredith, Gent., William Tattersall, Gent., John Weaver, Gent., Hugh Blount, Meredith ap Morgan, Hoel ap Rhys ap David, David Poell Hire, John ap Richard, Stephen Lewis, Peter Taylor and Rhys ap Edward, P . . , true and lawful men of the county aforesaid, who say upon their oath that the aforesaid Gelli Meyrick and a certain Dame Margaret,

¹ "Declaration of the Treasons of Robert late Earl of Essex," Lord Bacon's *Works*.

² Sir Charles Danvers was eldest brother of Henry Earl of Danby and of Sir John Danby, one of the judges at the trial of King Charles I.

³ Sir John Davies, Surveyor of the Ordnance.

⁴ Afterwards Sir Herbert Croft, M.P. for Leominster.

⁵ James ap Rhys, of Mynachdy, married Ales, daughter to Edward Croft and sister of Sir Herbert Croft. (Lewis Dwnn, vol. i, p. 252.)

his wife, on the aforesaid 8th day of February were jointly seized in their demesne, as of fee of and in one capital messuage, viz.: the mansion house¹ of the said Gelli, situate and being in Glawdestry, in the county aforesaid, and of 4 messuages 300 acres of land arable meadow, and grazing and pasture to the same capital messuage belonging, or with the same usually occupied in Glawdestry aforesaid and Llanvyhangell Nantmellan, in the county aforesaid, of the gift and feoffment of certain Jevan ap Lewys, Esq., and Sibill, his wife,² and Rees Lewys and Anna, his wife.³ And that the aforesaid Dame Margaret is now surviving, and holds the premises, and that the aforesaid premises are of the yearly value of xx*li*. And the Jury aforesaid upon their oath aforesaid further say that the said Gelli, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, was seized in his demesne, as of fee of one tenement, with the appurt's in Glawdestry aforesaid, called Loggen, now or late in the tenure of a certain John Scandrett, of the yearly value of five marks, and of one other tenement with the appurt's in Glawdestry aforesaid, now or late in the tenure of a certain Griffith Vaughan, of the yearly value of ten shillings, and of one close in Glawdestry aforesaid, called Errowe Jack, now in the possession of the aforesaid Dame Margaret, of the yearly value of ten shillings, and of one other tenement with the appurt's in Glawdestry aforesaid, called Gwenhilla, now or late in the tenure of a certain William Williams, of the yearly value of five marks, and of one close called Close Mawr, in Glawdestry aforesaid, late in the occupation of a certain Rees John ap Jenkyn, of the yearly value of twenty shillings, and of one tenement with the appurt's, called Glanarrowe, situate and being in Colva, in the county aforesaid, and of one water mill, and of 80 acres of land (by estimation) in Colva aforesaid, to the same tenement, belonging now or late in the possession of a certain Howell John Watkin, and are of the yearly value of £6 13*s*. 4*d*., and of one tenement with the appurt's, called Maynegowen, situate and being at Llanelwedd, in the county aforesaid, late in the tenure of David Lewis, of the yearly value of 40 shillings. And the Jury aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, further say that the aforesaid Gelli Meyricke, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, was possessed of, and in a certain interest or term of years yet to come and unexpired of the gift of our aforesaid Lady the Queen of all, and all kinds of Heriots happening, arriving or renewing within the lordships, liberties, hundreds and franchises of

¹ Court of Gladestry.

² Father and mother of Lady Margaret. (Lewis Dwnn, vol. i, p. 254.)

³ Her grandfather and grandmother.

Mellenith and Gwerthllinion, in the county aforesaid, of the yearly value (beyond reprises) of ten pounds. And the Jury aforesaid upon their oath further say that the aforesaid Gelli Meyricke, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, was possessed of a certain interest or term of years for a term of several years yet to come and unexpired of the gift of the Lord Henry late Earl of Northumberland,¹ of and in the rectory and church of Llanvhyangell Nantmellan, in the aforesaid county, which rectory is worth by the year (beyond reprises) five pounds. And that the aforesaid Gelli, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, was in like manner possessed of a certain water mill (called Havoy Myll),² with the appurt's, situate and lying in Dissart, in the county aforesaid, of the gift of our said Lady the Queen, and that the aforesaid mill, with the appurt's, are of the yearly value (beyond reprises) of 10 shillings. And the Jury aforesaid on their oath further say that a certain James Price, late of Glawdestry, aforesaid Gent., on the said 8th day of February, by his certain writing obligatory, was lawfully indebted to the aforesaid Gelli Meyricke in the sum of 200 marks, which sum of 200 marks the said Gelli, at the Great Sessions in the county aforesaid, holden about the 40th year of the reign of our said Lady the Queen, by way of debt, before the justices of the same Great Sessions, against the said James Price recovered, as by the Record of the same Great Sessions, before the same justices remaining more fully appears. And that a certain Rees ap John ap Jenkyn, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, by his writing obligatory, sealed with the seal of the same Rees, was lawfully indebted to the aforesaid Gelli in the sum of £40, as by the same obligation remaining in the custody of Francis Bowen, Gent., more fully appears. And the Jury aforesaid on their oath further say that the aforesaid Gelli Meyricke, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, was possessed, as of his own goods, of and in divers kinds of goods and chattels in a certain schedule to this Inquisition annexed specified, as by the same schedule more fully appears. And that all and singular the goods and chattels in such schedule specified were in the possession of John Bradshawe, now Sheriff of the county aforesaid, and were shewn to the Jury aforesaid at the time of the taking of this Inquisition, and are of the separate values in the same schedule particularly expressed. And the Jury aforesaid upon their oath further say that the said Robert late Earl of Essex, Henry late Earl of Southampton, Charles Danvers, Christopher Blount, John Davies, Edmund

¹ Married Dorothy, sister of Robert Earl of Essex.

² Probably Howey Mill.

Baynam, Gelli Meyricke and John Littleton, nor any of them, of any other lands, tenements or heredit's, were seized, nor of any other goods possessed in the county aforesaid, on the aforesaid 8th day of February, nor ever since, so far as the Jury aforesaid could at present make out. In witness whereof to one part of this Inquisition in the custody of the said commissioners the seals of the Jury are affixed, and to the other part of this Inquisition in the custody of the said Jury the seals of the said commissioners are affixed.

R. LEWYS. WM. TATTERSALL. IO. WEAVER,
CHAS. WEAVER. D. REES AP EDWARD. HUGH
BLUNT.

*The Scedule in the Inquisicon annexed menconed conteyning the
p'ticulers of the goodes, late Sir Gellye Meyrick, w'ch
are nowe in the custodie of John Bradshawe, Esquire,
Sheryffe of the county of Radnor.*

Bedding.—Fetherbedds, twenty, viz. of the better sorte, xiiij., & of the worser, sixe; fether bolsters, nyneteene; pyl-lowes, fower; quilts or mattresses, sixe; cadowes, fowerteene; a covrlett; blanketts, thirteene; hanings of carpet woorke, eight; sylk curtaynes & a fringe of silke about the bedsteede, fyve; a torne canapie of silke; curtaynes of greene, say fower; curtaynes of red & greene, say fower; curtaynes of green cloth, say fower; curtaynes & a cov'ring of orange tawny cloth imbrodered, fyve; carpetts of small value, two; curtaynes of green cloth & valens, fyve. These priced at xxiiij*l.* xiijs. iiij*d.*

Lynnen.—Sheetes, eleven peyres; towells, fower; cubbord clothes, three; table clothes, two; napkins, seaven; a pillow-beere. Priced at xs. viij*d.*

Tronke.—Fower—whereof in one a rowle of gold lace & a gilt bitt & a peyre of gilt stirropps; ine the rest nothing. Priced at xvij*l.* iiij*d.*

Pewter.—Candlesticks, seaventeen; caber potts, nyne; pewter of all sorte, nyne doozen; sawcers, two doozen; lyv'e potte, three; a great charger; a black jack; stoole pottes, two; a head of a steele. Priced at lxix*l.* iiij*d.*

Brasse.—A boyling kettle; brasse ketles of all sorte, seaven; brasse pans, fower; potts, three; chaffing dishes, two; a cul-lender; watring potts, two; morters, three; a peyre of scales. Priced at liiij*l.* v*d.*

Ironware.—Braiches, eight; a jack to turn the spitt; a peyre of jacke; a payre of drawing cubbords; dripping pans, fyve; great andyrons, one peyre; smale andyrons, fyve peyre; tongs,

fower peyre; fireshovells, two; fryeing pans, three; a cleaver; a chopping knyfe; an oven peelee; a great grater; pott hookes, two peyres; pott hangers, two peyres. Priced at xlvijjs. iij*d*.

Trynnen.—A skreene.

Ware.—A peyre of playeing tables; a boxe to carry hatts in; close stooles, three; a chayre of twigge; chayres bakt, one with velvet, one with lether, & three with green cloth; stooles cov'ed with cloth of silver, velvet and green cloth, seaven; a dozen & a half of joyned stooles; a dozen of turky woork stooles; field stooles, two; field bedde, five; a standing bedd; a canapie bedd; fower gilt posts for a bedd; one nest of boxes; a box with oyle; a seller with glasses; a broken boxe; cubbords, seaven, viz. five liv'ey cubbords, two other cubbords; one square table; sawed borde, thertie. Price iiij*l*s. xiijs. iiij*d*.

Cushions.—Six needleworke cushions. Price vjs.

Cattell.—Eight oxen, price xij*l*s.; fower kyne, price liijs. iiij*d*.; fower steeres, price iiij*l*s.; ten kyne, price vj*l*s. xiijs. iiij*d*.; threescore and ten sheepe, price viij*l*s. xs.; two oxen, price iiij*l*s. = xxxvijs. xvjs. viij*d*.

As the court of Gladestry was derived through his wife, Margaret, it is probable that this property was not forfeited to the crown; and this notion is supported by the fact that in December, 1636, Rowland Meyrick,¹ his son, is described as of Gladestrye.

Whether, however, the court of Gladestry was forfeited or not, it appears in 1676 to have been the property of Elizabeth, Viscountess Purbeck,² the daughter of Sir John Danvers, and to have been late in the occupation of William Tristram, clerk.

The viscountess several years afterwards sold the court of Gladestry and other property in Radnorshire to Edward Harley, then of the Inner Temple, Esq., but afterwards better known as Auditor of the Imprest in the reign of Queen Anne, and he, on the 30th Oct., 1700, sold the court of Gladestry to Richard Powell of Kingston, mercer.

On the attainder of Sir Gelli, his moiety of the honour

¹ An act was passed in the third year of King James I for the restitution in blood of Rowland Meyrick and his sister Margaret, then the wife of Sir John Vaughan, Knight, afterwards Earl of Carbery.

² See "Villiers, Viscount Purbeck," Burke's *Extinct Peerages*.

of Wigmore, and other property in the county of Hereford, which had been granted to him jointly with Sir Henry Lindley, as before mentioned, was forfeited to the crown, and shortly after granted to Sir Henry Lindley, who, in 1601, sold and conveyed the honour of Wigmore, with the castle and demesne lands, to Thomas Harley¹ of Bryan Brampton, Esq., for £2,600.

Returning to the history of the Forest of Radnor, we find that by letters patent under the great seal of England, bearing date on the 8th day of December, in the seventh year of King Charles I, in consideration of £13,545: 15: 10 paid into the Exchequer, by William Russell Esq. (afterwards Sir William Russell Bart.) The king granted to Sir William Russell, William Collins, and Edward Fenn of London, gentlemen, their heirs and assigns (with other large possessions of the crown), "All that our Forest of Radnor, and the soil and ground of the same forest, with its liberties, metes, and bounds, and all its appurtenances. And all our lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever, called or known by the name of the Forest of Radnor, in our county of Radnor; and all that the agistment of the same forest, as well winter as summer, and the pannage of hogs, wax, and wild honey of the same forest," particularly mentioned to be demised to Gelli Meyrick Esq., Lady Meyrick, and Rowland Meyrick, for their lives, and the lives of the longer liver of them successively, and to be of the annual rent of £10, and to be parcel of the possessions annexed to the Principality of Wales, and late parcel of the possessions of the late Earl of March.

Sir William Russell, William Collins, and Edward Fenn, on the 20th July, in the ninth year of King Charles I, in consideration of £240 paid to the said Sir William Russell, conveyed the Forest of Radnor to John Powell, citizen and grocer of London, in fee.

On the 9th December, in the eleventh year of the same reign, Rowland Meyricke, who had survived his

¹ The father of Sir Robert Harley, K.B.

mother, Lady Meyricke, granted his interest by virtue of the letters patent of 31st Queen Elizabeth, in the Forest of Radnor, to the same John Powell, whose son and heir, John Powell of Stannage in the county of Radnor, Esq., on the 30th January, 1650, sold and conveyed the Forest of Radnor to Thomas Lewis of Harpton, Esq., the great grandfather of Thomas Lewis, Esq., who for so many years of the last century represented the Radnorshire Boroughs in Parliament.

RICHARD W. BANKS.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF LEWIS OF HARPTON, 1862.

THE early part of the following pedigree is taken from the pedigree entitled "Old Radnor, Harpston," according to the visitation by Lewis Dwinn in 1597, printed in Sir Samuel Meyrick's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales* (Llandovery, 1846, 2 vols. 4to.), vol i, p. 255. Concerning the authenticity of Lewis Dwinn's pedigrees, see Introduction, *ib.* p. xxv.

The materials for the rest were chiefly obtained from the register of old Radnor parish, from monuments in Old Radnor Church, and from family papers and deeds belonging to Harpton Court.

It has not been thought necessary to transcribe the first four generations in Lewis Dwinn's pedigree, as they belong to a period prior to the introduction of surnames in Wales. The date of the earliest name recorded appears to be about 1350, temp. Edward III.

There is likewise a notice of the family in Burke's History of the Landed Gentry, vol i, p, 335 (4 vols. 1837).

GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS.

Harpton Court: October 1862.

DAVID AP LEWIS. [Circa 1440 ?]

HUGH LEWIS = GWENLLIAN MATHEW. [Circa 1470 ?]

THOMAS LEWIS, probably born about 1500 = ANNE AP RHYS,
Sheriff of Radnorshire in 1551, temp. Edward VI.

Thomas Lewis, Esq., being one of the capital burgesses of the borough, purchased the hill, or waste, of Old Radnor from the Corporation of New Radnor, on May 10, 1566, as appears from an abstract of title of Thomas Lewis, Esq., prepared about 1725.

Sarah, daughter of Thomas Lewis, of Harpton, married
John Baskerville, of Aberedw in 1578.

JAMES LEWIS, alive in 1597 = GWEN AP HOWELL, of
Cwmtoyddher.

HUGH LEWIS, probably born about 1580, Sheriff of
Radnorshire in 1620.

MARTHA, his wife, died May 9, 1641, as appears from the inscription on her tombstone in the chancel of Old Radnor Church within the rails of the Communion table. His wife is called Ann in Lewis Dwnn's pedigree. He probably died about 1650.

THOMAS LEWIS, married Margaret, one of the daughters of Warncombe Wigmore, Esq., and made a post-nuptial settlement upon her, dated September 17, 1637.

He purchased the Forest of Radnor by a deed bearing date June 30, 1650.

He was Sheriff of Radnorshire in the years 1658 and 1659.

In a topographical work of 1673, Thomas Lewis, of Harpton, Esq., is mentioned among the gentry of the county of Radnor. He died September 19, 1680, as appears from the inscription on his tombstone in the chancel of Old Radnor Church within the rails of the Communion table.

THOMAS LEWIS, in April 1662, married Isabella, daughter of Thomas Nourse, of Longhope, com. Gloucester.

Sheriff of Radnorshire in 1683. Buried in Old Radnor Church March 14, 1691.

THOMAS LEWIS (born in 1666)

NOURSE LEWIS.

Married, March 5, 1686, in St. Bride's Church, London, to Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of William Howes, Esq., of Greenham, in the county of Berks.

He was High Sheriff of Radnorshire in 1697. Died at Bath September 4, 1724; and was buried September 12, in Old Radnor Church.

He was Colonel of the trained bands of Radnorshire and Brecknockshire. It appears from depositions now extant (preserved at Brampton Bryan) that an affray between Thomas Lewis and his

brother Nourse Lewis on the one hand, and Mr. Robert Harley on the other, took place in the streets of New Radnor, on October 2, 1693, in which swords were drawn on both sides. Mr. Thomas Lewis is described as the aggressor. This must have been Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

"Last week died at Bath, Thomas Lewis, Esq., of Harpton Court, Radnorshire, father to the representative in Parliament for the borough of New Radnor. He was carried from thence to be interred in his parish church of Old Radnor, where his exemplary piety had been known, and his constant attendance given, for many years, and which nothing but extreme sickness could prevent. His corpse was met on the road by near 700 horsemen, all of whom very much bewailed the loss of him who was a favourite of the rich, the father of the poor, a most judicious magistrate, and well affected to the present establishment in Church and State."—*Gloucester Paper, September, 1724.*

MARGARET, his wife, died in 1750, and was buried in Old Radnor Church, on February 6.

There is a tablet to the memory of Thomas Lewis and Margaret, his wife, in the chancel of Old Radnor Church, erected by their grandson, John Lewis, in 1778.

The following were the children of Thomas Lewis and Margaret Howes :—

1. THOMAS, born St. Luke's day [Oct. 18], 1690. Baptized in Old Radnor Church on October 30, 1690. Died in London on April 5, 1777; and buried in old Radnor Church on April 19, 1777.

2. MARTHA, born on January 14, 1692. Married to Herbert Lewis, Esq., by whom she had five sons. Died on June 22, 1769.

3. HUGH LEWIS, born on August 21, 1694. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and entered holy orders. He was Chaplain to George II, when Prince of Wales, and was continued in this situation after his accession to the throne. He was appointed a Canon of Windsor on May 17, 1733; and died at Windsor on May 24, 1742. He left a son, Thomas, who died young, and a daughter, who married Captain Martin.

I owe to the kindness of the Dean of Windsor (Dr. Wellesley) the following extracts from the Register and the List of Canons :—

"The Rev. Dr. Hugh Lewis, Canon, was buried in woollen, May 27, 1742."—*Register.*

"Hugo Lewis, Theologiæ Doctor, installatus est in Canonicatum Doctoris Bland, 17mo Maii 1733. Obiit 1742. Sepultus est in hac capellâ, 27mo die Maii 1742. Cui successit Mr. Terrick."—*List of Canons.*

4. WILLIAM, born on March 23, 1697. Died unmarried on July 21, 1729.

5. ISABELLA, born on February 23, 1698. Married to John Lewis, Esq., of Presteign. Died at Hereford on July 25, 1778.

6. MARGARET, born on May 23, 1705. Married to Mr. Wright, merchant. Died June 1778.

7. HENRY, born on March 14, 1708. Called to the bar, and was a practising barrister. Married, 1. Elizabeth Gustaphin, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, and who died on November 9, 1764; 2. Henrietta Maria Saunders, of Iver in the county of Middlesex, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Saunders, Rector of that parish. She died in Bedford Street, Bedford Row, on October 27, 1788. There were no children of the second marriage. Henry Lewis died on January 18, 1768.

8. ELIZABETH, born on April 28, 1710. Married to Roger Stephens, of Barland, Esq., in the county of Radnor.

THOMAS LEWIS, the eldest son, was entered a Fellow Commoner at Wadham College, Oxford, on May 24, 1709, at the age of 19. How long he remained at the University does not appear; he did not graduate.

Early in 1714, the Earl of Oxford, then Lord Treasurer, sent his cousin, Mr. Harley, on a mission to the Court of Hanover, with warm expressions of duty and attachment. The Electress Sophia was alive when Mr. Harley was at Hanover, but she died on May 28, 1714.¹ In a letter from Lord Oxford to the Elector of Brunswick, dated St. James's, May 19, 1714, he says:—"I expect Mr. Harley every moment in return from your Court." Lord Paget, and, subsequently, the Earl of Clarendon (grandson of the Chancellor), were appointed ambassadors to the Court of Hanover after the return of Mr. Harley. Thomas Lewis, being then 24 years of age, accompanied by Mr. Harley as a subordinate member of his mission, on this occasion. The following letter, written to him at London by his father, alludes to this event.

"14th February, 1713-(14).

"Dear Son,—In answer to your former letter, I enclosed one last post to Mr. Harley, in which I would have omitted some things, had I known the progress you had made in that affair. I presume they did not think my consent would be so easily had, considering the expense and short warning; but that I would have chosen a small post for present advantage, to take the burthen of your education off my hands, than trust to those uncertainties. But this I have complied with, to let you find my readiness to promote your welfare to the utmost of my power, hoping

¹ See Lord Stanhope's *History of England*, c. iii, vol. i, p. 80. Ed. 1853.

² Historical Register for 1714-16, vol. i. Intro., p. xiii.

I shall have no occasion ever to repent it. The only way you have to furnish yourself with money is by parting with what I have in the South Sea, and paying £30 to the gentlewoman, and returning me the rest that is spare. You must, if you go, advise with them where and upon whom to take bills of exchange upon the least discount, for to carry ready money all will not, I think, be proper; and be advised of all other matters that you are a stranger to, that you may not be disappointed, or be troublesome to Mr. Harley in any improper thing. Be sure to take care of your conduct in words and actions, and get acquainted with some prudent, knowing person of the retinue, whose conversation and advice may be useful. Keep a diary of all you see or do or hear, whilst you are abroad, and get as much of the languages as is possible. Take some maps and geographical books of the countries you pass through, and also of the laws, customs, government, and the product or manufactory of each particular place; and spend not an idle hour without getting some useful information or knowledge of useful things; that when you return, they may find you have spent your time well, and that you are of an industrious temper, and fit for business. Send your letters in Mr. Harley's packet, and write only your private business, and do not meddle with public matters, but only by observation. Carry yourself respectfully to Mr. Harley, and always speak honourably of him. Your conduct and behaviour is now to be tried, and may ruin or make you. I cannot tell you now half my mind, but leave you to God's direction and good providence. Let me hear every post before you go. Take leave of my Lord Treasurer, and thank him for all favours. Wish him all imaginable prosperity, and the like to the Auditor, to whom I will write a letter of thanks, if you think fit. We are all well, and under some concern at this sudden expedition, and give you our blessing and love.

"I am your loving father,

"THOS. LEWIS.

"My service to cousin Weaver, to whom I have written this post.

"P.S.— Let me hear particularly what ease you will have in your expenses by going now, and whether they offer any advantages; for I suppose you cross the sea in the Queen's yacht, and provision is there made aboard at the Queen's charge; and that after he will keep a table, and treat the gentlemen on the same account; so that your pocket money and clothes may be all that is wanting; and, therefore, do not press too hard upon one that is so free; yet take what is sufficient. If you have time, take some physic, to avoid being sea-sick; your constitution will not bear what others may. Serve God, and put thy trust in Him, and

He will bless you. Avoid dispute, that occasions quarrel among strangers."

The "Auditor" alluded to in this letter is Edward Harley, Esq., of Eywood, in the county of Hereford, second brother of Robert Earl of Oxford. He was born in 1664, and died in 1735, and in 1702 he was appointed by Queen Anne one of the Auditors of the Imprest. A full-length portrait of him is preserved at Eywood, in the possession of Lady Langdale, the present representative of the Harley family.

Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, only two months after her cousin the Electress Sophia. Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on January 5, 1715, and in the new House the Whig interest predominated. Mr. Thomas Lewis was returned to this Parliament for the Radnor boroughs, as a Whig, and in opposition to the Harley interest. He contested the boroughs with Lord Harley, and was returned. Lord Harley petitioned against the return; but the petition was not prosecuted to a decision.¹ There is a tradition that he was influenced by some slight which he had received from Mr. Harley during his mission. At all events, his family heard that he was about to act with the party who were promoting the impeachment of Lord Oxford, which was carried in the House of Commons on June 9, 1715, without a division. The following letter to Mr. Thomas Lewis from his mother has been preserved, and alludes to this transaction.

(No date.)

DEAR SON,—You cannot imagine the concern I am under. I can't eat, drink, or sleep, for fear you have a hand in [the] blood of these men. My lord of Oxon is our neighbour and friend; be tender of his life, and do not, for any advantage in this world, give your vote against him or the duke; and give me the satisfaction that you are not ungrateful to him, which will very much quiet the mind of your uneasy mother.

Send me down as much black silk as will make a petticoat, and I will pay you for it. Hasten your brother down. We are all well, and remember you, and long for an answer to this, which is all from
Your loving mother,

M. LEWIS.

¹ See Journals of the House of Commons,—March 31, 1715, presentation of Lord Harley's petition complaining of undue return: March 6, 1716-17, reference of the petition to the Committee of Privileges and Elections: December 7, 1717, presentation of an amended petition. In both petitions it is alleged that Thomas Lewis, senior, Esq., with other persons, "pretended to make some hundreds of illegal burgesses, and polled them for Mr. Lewis, junior, declaring it was to exclude the petitioner."

The Earl of Oxford was impeached on July 9, 1715, and was committed to the Tower. The trial was commenced in June 1717, but it was not proceeded with, and he was liberated from his imprisonment. By "the Duke" mentioned in this letter, the Duke of Ormond is meant. A motion for his impeachment was carried in the House of Commons on June 21, 1715, and he immediately fled to France. He was subsequently engaged in treasonable designs against his own country, and he died on the Continent.

The first Parliament in which Thomas Lewis sat was opened on March 21, 1715. He was then twenty-five years old; his father did not die till 1724. He was likewise member for the Radnor boroughs in the Parliaments of 1722, 1727, 1734, 1741, 1747, 1754, and 1762, which latter Parliament sat till March 12, 1768. There was a double return for the Parliament of 1762. The two names returned were Thomas Lewis, Esq., and Edward Lewis Esq.: but the latter informed the House that he did not mean to contest the matter; and his name was erased from the return by the Clerk of the Crown.

Thomas Lewis, from the length of time during which he represented the Radnor boroughs (*viz.* fifty-three years continuously) was called the "Old Burgess." He opposed the interest of the Harley family, then powerful in the county of Radnor,¹ and was a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole.

There is a well-painted, full-length portrait of him at Harpton Court, with his name upon it; and a medallion of him in high relief, over his monument in Old Radnor Church.

Thomas Lewis died at his house in Soho Square, on April 5, 1777, aged eighty-seven years; and was buried "in great funeral pomp" on April 19, in Old Radnor Church, where there is a handsome monument to his memory, with the following inscription:—

Sacred to the memory of THOMAS LEWIS, Esq., of Harpton, who was descended from an ancient and respectable family in this county. On the accession of the present royal family, he was called by the voice of his countrymen to represent his native borough in Parliament, in which character he served them during the reigns of George the First and Second, a period of near fifty years. He was blessed with a clear understanding and sound judgment, which being accompanied by an habitual elegance of manners, rendered his conversation at once pleasing and instructive. Happy also in the possession of a vigorous constitution, and blessed with almost uninterrupted health, he enjoyed a

¹ In the *History of the Boroughs of Great Britain* (3 vols. 8vo., 1792), vol. iii (Welsh Boroughs), p. 47, it is stated that "the interest of this county (Radnor) centres entirely in the Earl of Oxford."

life full of years, which on the 5th of April, 1777, he exchanged for the immortality of heaven, aged 86 years and 5 months. He married Ann, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Sir Nathan Wright, Baronet, of Lofts, in the county of Essex.

Thomas Lewis married, February 12, 1743, Ann, eldest daughter and coheirress of Sir Nathan Wright, Bart., by Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Lawley, Bart., and widow of Leonard Powell, Esq. She was born February 29, 1712, and died without children, in Soho Square, March 28, 1785. She was buried at Norwood. A monument to her memory was, by a direction in her will, erected in Old Radnor Church. Her sister and coheirress Dorothy, married Thomas Hussey Apreece, Esq. Ann devised the estates at Lofts, near Maldon, in Essex, which she inherited from her father, to her sister's son, Sir Thomas Hussey Apreece, Bart. An oval portrait of Margaret, Lady Lawley, and three-quarters length portraits of Ann and Dorothy, her two daughters, are at Harpton. Sir Nathan Wright, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal during the reigns of William and Anne (1700-1705), was nephew of Sir Nathan Wright, the third baronet, and was born February 11, 1653. See Lord Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, c. 112. Burke's *History of the Landed Gentry*, vol. ii, p. 245. (London, 1837.)

HENRY, fourth son of Thomas Lewis and Margaret Howes, and brother of the preceding, had the following children by his first marriage.

1. JOHN, born October 14, 1738. Died November 6, 1797, at Harpton Court; and was buried November 14, at Old Radnor Church, where there is a tablet to his memory. In the inscription he is described as "barrister-at-law, recorder of the borough of Radnor, and an acting magistrate for the counties of Radnor and Middlesex." He was High Sheriff of Radnorshire in 1792.

2. WILLIAM, born November 28, 1739. In 1756 he entered the royal navy on board the *Trident*, Captain Darrell, and he was present at the action in the Mediterranean between Admiral John Byng and La Galissonnière in 1756. He was afterwards at the taking of the Havannah and of Quebec. In the year 1777 he was made a lieutenant; and after the close of the American war he retired to Fareham in Hampshire with impaired health; and died January 25, 1788.

3. MARGARET, born November 23, 1740. Died January 11, 1741.

4. ANN, born March 21, 1742. Married William Fowle, Esq., of Bedford Square; and died without issue in September 1823.

5. HENRY, born March 26, 1744; and died May 1744.

6. ELIZABETH, born May 17, 1745. Died unmarried at Kensington in 1802.

HUGH and WILLIAM, the next brothers to Thomas Lewis, having died without male issue in his lifetime, and Henry, the next brother, having died before him, Thomas Lewis devised the Harpton property to his nephew John, the eldest son of Henry.

JOHN LEWIS contested the Radnor boroughs with Edward Lewis in the three Parliaments of 1768, 1774, and 1780. In each case there was a double return, and John Lewis was declared to be not duly elected. The two former elections took place during the lifetime of his uncle Thomas. It appears from a note in his writing that he was sent for express from Harpton, in the midst of his canvass, on account of his father's death, which took place on January 18, 1768. The Parliament of 1762 was dissolved on March 12, 1768, in its sixth session; so that he must have commenced his canvass before the dissolution. The questions on which these disputed returns turned was whether burgesses were entitled to vote without being resident. The decision was in favour of the non-resident burgesses.¹

JOHN LEWIS, married on December 15, 1761, first, Mary, the daughter of Captain Charles Colby, resident at Gunton Hall, in the county of Suffolk, one of the commissioners of his majesty's navy (born on October 31, 1745; died, October 16, 1774), by whom he had three daughters.

1. ELIZABETH, born at Naples on December 30, 1763. She married J. L. Harris, Esq., of the Moor, near Kingston. On Jan. 21, 1788. Died in Jersey on February 23, 1841.

2. SARAH, born on July 29, 1770, at Gunton Hall, Suffolk. She married Charles Whalley, Esq., on October 11, 1799; and died at Charlton, near Woolwich, on March, 25, 1840.

3. MARY ANNE, born in Bedford Row, on September 27, 1772. She married James Davies, Esq., of Moor Court, near Kingston, on April 18, 1804; and died on April 30, 1845.

He married, secondly (on March 24, 1778, in Walcot Church, Bath), Ann, third daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Baronet, of Thirkleby Park, in the county of York; by whom he had issue:—

1. ANN, born on May 20, 1779. Died on December 19, 1793. Buried in Old Radnor Church.

2. THOMAS FRANKLAND, born in Great Ormond Street on May 14, 1780. Died at Harpton on January 22, 1855, and buried in Old Radnor Church.

¹ *History of Boroughs, etc.*, p. 49. Edward Lewis was a London merchant who had recently purchased the estate of Downton, near New Radnor. He was supported in his election contests by the Harley interest. He had no connexion with the county of Radnor before his purchase of Downton.

3. LOUISA, born at Harpton on July 8, 1783. Died on Jan. 12, 1810; and buried in Gloucester Cathedral.

Ann, second wife of John Lewis, was born on August 24, 1753. She married, secondly, the Rev. Robert Hare, of Herstmonceaux, Sussex, in 1811; and died at Cheltenham on March 12, 1842.

A tablet to the memory of Sir Frankland Lewis was erected in Old Radnor Church by his eldest son, on which there is the following inscription:—

“Sacred to the memory of the Right Honourable Sir THOMAS FRANKLAND LEWIS, Baronet, of Harpton Court, in the county of Radnor, only son of John Lewis, Esq., by his second wife, Ann, daughter of Admiral Sir Thomas Frankland, Baronet.

“He was born in London on the 14th of May, 1780. In March 1805, he married Harriet, fourth daughter of Sir George Cornwall, Baronet, and by her he had two sons, both of whom survived him.

“In October 1839, he married Marianne, daughter of John Ashton, Esq.

“He died at Harpton Court, on the 22nd of January, 1855, and was buried in the chancel of this church.

“He received his education at Eton, and afterwards at Christ Church College, Oxford. He entered Parliament as member for the borough of Beaumaris, in 1812, and subsequently represented the county and the borough of Radnor. At different periods he was employed on important commissions of inquiry, in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; and he successively filled the offices of Secretary to the Treasury, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, Treasurer of the Navy, and Poor Law Commissioner.

“He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1828, and was created a baronet in 1846.

“During a long parliamentary and official life, he was distinguished by the rectitude of his judgment, the clearness of his understanding, the soundness of his opinions, his extensive acquaintance with public affairs, and his general capacity for the transaction of business. He enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the various persons with whom he was associated.

“In religion he was a firm adherent of the Protestant faith, according to the tenets of the Church of England. In all the relations of private life he was blameless. He was an attached husband and an affectionate father.

“As a landowner, and as a magistrate of the county and borough of Radnor, he sedulously discharged the duties of property and of neighbourhood, and for a period of more than fifty years he directed his best exertions to the improvement of his native county; exertions which were acknowledged with just gratitude by those whose welfare he constantly studied to promote.”

The two sons of Sir Frankland Lewis by his first marriage are—

1. GEORGE CORNEWALL, born in London on April 21, 1806.
2. GILBERT FRANKLAND, born at Tibberton Court, Herefordshire, on July 21, 1808.

The following list of Stewards of the Manor of Cantredmelleneth, from the restoration to the year 1786, is annexed, as throwing light upon the local politics of that period. The Stewards of this Crown Manor were supposed to exercise an influence in the boroughs, by being able, through their deputy stewards, to enrol as many of their retainers as they thought fit, burgesses of the several boroughs.

Anno Regni.	Names.	Dates of appointment.
12 Charles I .	Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery	—
11 Charles II .	Robert Harley, Esq. . . .	Dec. 18, 1660
24 Charles II .	Sir Henry Osborne	Dec. 19, 1673
32 Charles II .	Charles Lord Herbert	Oct. 9, 1681
33 Charles II .	Sir John Morgan	Sept. 1, 1682
4 James II .	Marquis of Powys	April 16, 1688
4 James II .	Sir Rowland Gwynne	Sept. 27, 1688
2 William & Mary	Robert Harley, Esq. . . .	Nov. 26, 1691
4 William .	Robert Harley, Esq. . . .	Jan. 19, 1701
1 George I .	Thomas Lord Coningsby	Dec. 7, 1714
6 George I .	Duke of Chandos	Feb. 4, 1721
20 George II .	Henry Lewis of Harpton, Esq. . . .	June 30, 1746
1 George III .	Henry Lewis of Harpton, Esq. . . .	April 21, 1761
7 George III .	Edward Earl of Oxford	Feb. 8, 1768

[The memoir here given was compiled by the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Bart., and possesses additional interest on account of its being the last production, published, of his learned pen. The Association is indebted for it to the kindness of Sir Gilbert Frankland Lewis, the present baronet.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*]

GWEN TEIRBRON (ALBA TRIMAMMIS).

ABOUT ten miles from Quimper, on the side of the main road to Chateaulin, in the midst of tall trees, which almost entirely shut it out from view, is the little chapel dedicated to Saint Vénec; near it is a fair Calvary on a triangular base, which bears the date of 1556. A little beyond this is the Saints' Well, or fountain, which bears more ornamental details than is usual in such constructions, the necessary adjuncts of Breton Chapels. The exterior of the chapel offers nothing very remarkable, while the interior is in a woeful state of dilapidation. At the bottom of the nave is a worm-eaten gallery, with sculptured pannels of coarse execution, and from the centre hangs an iron lamp of more simple character, and probably of the same period as the building. Towards the upper end of the church four large stone corbels support the figures of saints. On one of these corbels is a remarkable group of four personages—a female and three children. The former is represented crowned, and sitting. Her vest is open, and discloses three breasts, one of which, larger than the other, seems to suckle a little child resting on her knees, and holding in its hands a label inscribed in characters of the sixteenth century—S. GUENOC. The two remaining figures, standing upright on each side of the female, support themselves by their hands placed upon her knees, and carry similar labels having the names of S. Guenolé and S. Jacut. The accompanying illustration, for which I am indebted to the accurate pencil of my friend, Mr. Edward Russell, will give a better idea than words can, of these monuments. To those who are not familiar with the early traditions connected with our history, such a group within the walls of a church may appear singular. I was therefore not astonished to learn that a most respectable clergyman in the neighbourhood of Quimper, finding in one of the chapels of



SAINT GUENN.

his parish a statue with as little clothing as the one here mentioned, thought it to represent some pagan divinity, and had it ignominiously interred in a corner of the cemetery.

The female, however, who is thus represented is celebrated in our Breton annals, which call her *Alba Trimammis* (in Breton, *Gwen Teirbron*; ¹ or in English, *Gwen* with three breasts). An account of her life was written in the ninth century, a copy of which is in the original cartulary of the Abbey of Llandevennec, the greater portion of which work is of the same date.

Fracun, a celebrated warrior, and the cousin of *Cathow*,² King of Britain, flying from a pestilential malady which desolated the states of his relation, and which had been sent to punish the wickedness of the inhabitants, went over to Armorica, taking with him his wife *Gwen* (*Alba*) and his two sons, *Guethenoc* and *Jacob* (*Jacut*). He landed at a place called *Brahec*, on the northern coast of Armorica, and established himself in a particular spot, which took its name from him—*Ploufracan* or *Plebs Fracani*. Here a third son was born, who was named *Gwennolé* (*Wingwaloëus*). A miracle of God conferred upon his mother, *Gwen*, a third breast to nourish this third son, who was called to so high a destiny, and who, from this especial favour shown to his mother, was called *De Trimammis*.³

¹ "*Gwen*" (white), "*Teir*" (three), "*Bron*" (breast).

² Breton historians call him *Cathonn*; but the Cartulary has *Cathouii*.

³ "*Inter hæc autem vir quidam illustris, spes proles beatæ, nomine Fracanus, Cathouii regis Britannici viri secundum seculum famosissimi consobrinus. . . . cum etiam predicti regis terra. . . . in quâ tanta sacrilegia et connubia inepta convivique illicita et stupra a Deo inconcessa fuerant perpetrata. . . . morbo, olido cum nidore gravissimo sanique confecta per totam pene fuisset. . . . iste legitur cum agnellis, id est, geminis natis Guethenoco Jacoboque vocatis parenteque eorundem, alba, nomine quæ cognominatur Trimammis eò quod ternas, æquato numero natorum, habuit mammas, nam et eorum germana non est in mammarum calculo reputanda quia foeminarum non est moris in Scripturâ texere genealogiam tandem Armoricam. . . . aggreditur enatato cum paucis ponto Britannico tellurem Circio leniter flante delatus in portum qui Brahecus dicitur.*" (*Cartulary of Llandevennec*, a MS. in the Library of Quimper, fos. 12 v° and 13 et v°.)

The artist who has sculptured the group of St. Gwen and her children has faithfully followed the legend, except that he has given to St. Guennoc or Gwethenoc, patron of the chapel, the place which ought to be occupied by St. Gwenolé, according to the legend.

The Welsh traditions mention also a Saint Gwen, to whom the same name of Teirbron has been given, and who was the daughter of Emyr Llydaw, a prince of Armoric Britain. She married Æneas Lydewig, and by him became the mother of St. Cadvan, who passed from Armorica into Wales in the early part of the sixth century, with a considerable company of holy personages.¹

It is clear, from these few details, that it is impossible to identify this Saint Gwen with her namesake. The identity of names may have been the means of the name of the one being assigned to the other, a kind of confusion of which we have too many instances in Welsh and Breton annals, and which contributes in no little degree to add to the confusion of the early history of both countries.

Breton tradition tells us nothing of St. Gwennoc. He is represented in his chapel of a size approaching to the natural size, dressed as a warrior, holding in one hand a sword, and in the other a book. At his side in the same niche are his two brothers, St. Gwennolé and St. Jacut, but in much smaller proportion. Both of these are in the costume of an abbé; on the corbel which supports the statue is S. Gueznoce (*sic*) 1178. The inhabitants of the village of St. Venec can give no information of his life. He is, however, invoked for pains in the legs. His fête is held on the Sunday before Lent and Whit Monday. St. Gwennolé was the first abbot of Landevennec,² and St. Jacut that of the monastery of the same name, about five miles from St. Malo.

St. Gwen Teirbron is not known by that name in the

¹ R. Williams' *Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen*, pp. 55, 144, 192. Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 122.

² For details of St. Gwennolé and the Abbey of Landevennec, see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Series III, vol. iii, p. 129.

neighbourhood of the chapel, where she is only represented as the mother of St. Venec (Gwennoc). Nursing mothers offer to her a distaff and flax, to secure the desired quantity of milk. Her statue seems evidently to have been the prototype of those which represent the virgin, nude as far as the breast, of which there exist several examples in Britany, and which are invoked for the same purpose, and with the same offerings. I have met with two in Finistère. One invoked under the name of Notre Dame de Treguren is in the chapel of Sez nec, in the parish of Plogonec or Plougonec. It is a large stone statue, without any pretensions to art. To conceal its nudity, it has been lately invested with a striped waistcoat, painted in oil colour, and buttoned up to the chin. The second, of wood, and of good execution, is in the chapel of Quillidoaré, in the parish of Cast, about five miles from Chateaulin. She is represented of the natural size, and in a costume of a lady of rank of the sixteenth century. On a fold of her robe is written in Gothic characters—N^e DAME DE BONNES-NOUVELLES. This kind of statue, the sight of which did not shock our ancestors as they seem to do us in the present day, was formerly much more common. Figures of Notre Dame *en couches* were by no means rare in our churches during the middle ages, as appears by various records and documents of the period. At present they are nearly all destroyed, and the few examples, that remain, lie hid in remote and humble chapels, seldom visited by inhabitants of towns.

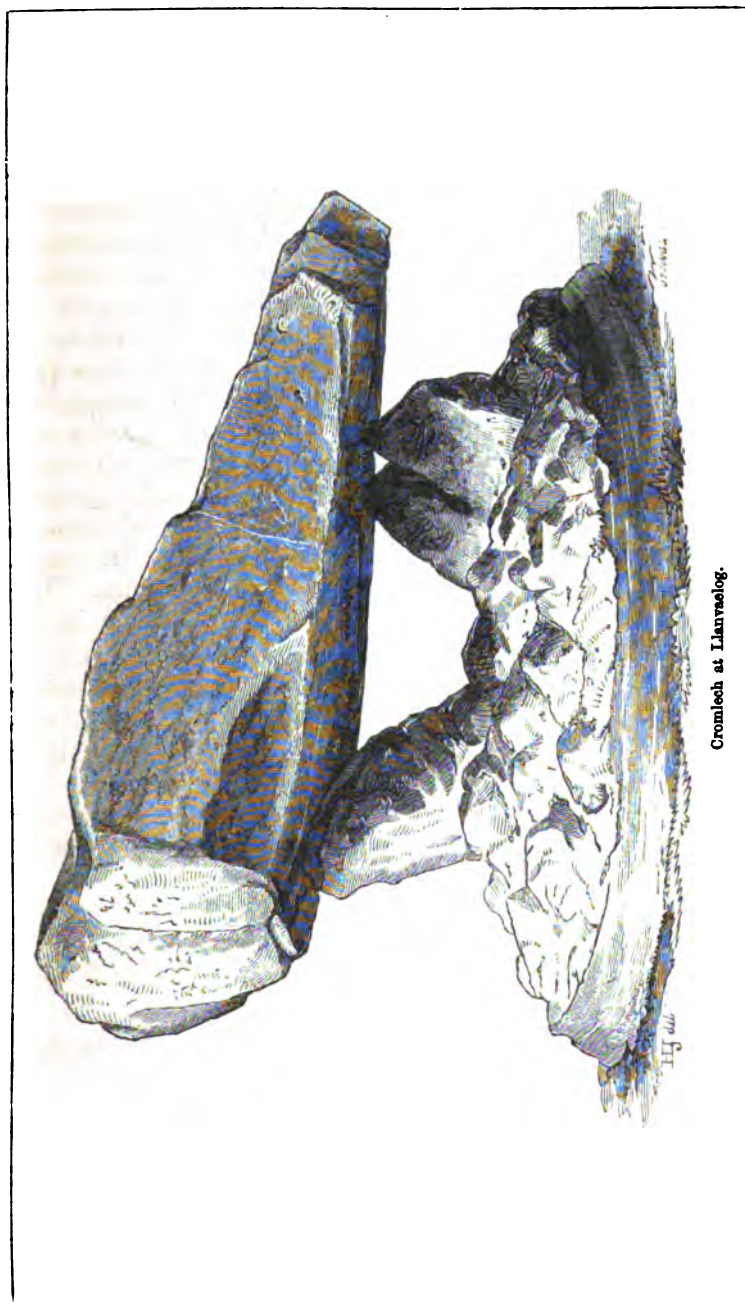
R. LE MEN.

Quimper.

CROMLECH AT LLANVAELOG, ANGLESEY.

IN 1844 I visited that portion of Anglesey which extends from the Menai to Holyhead, along the south-western shore, in search of early and mediæval remains; and at that period took a drawing of the *double* cromlech at Llanvaelog, one of the best in the island. One cromlech was erect; the other by its side, thrown down: or rather, I should say that the two constituted the remains of a large chambered mound,—perhaps of a cromlech with a passage, as at Bryn Celli in the same island. The cap-stone of that which was erect measured thirteen feet and a half in length by about five feet in depth and width at the thickest part. The cap of the fallen one was broken in two, but when entire it was not less than fifteen feet long. Fortunately this drawing remains in my portfolio; and it shews the importance of preserving memorials of these early monuments, whenever opportunity offers, made with all possible care; for since then the fallen cromlech has utterly disappeared; and the upright one has been so seriously damaged, that its destruction will now be the work of only a few winters,—all through the sheer stupidity of man!

I had occasion to pass by the spot last summer, and, on going to renew my acquaintance with this venerable monument, found nothing more remaining than what is represented in the accompanying engraving. An “improving tenant” had come upon the farm. He wanted to repair his walls; and, though the native rock cropped out all around, he found it more convenient to blast the fallen stone, the very existence of which was probably unknown to either the landlord or his agent. Hence the fallen one disappeared. The tenant, however, seems to have been in some degree aware of the importance of the erect cromlech; for he cut a kind of trench all round it, and by subsequent ploughings has left it standing on a kind of low mound. Formerly it stood in a



Cromlech at Llanvreslog.

grass field, among gorse bushes, with no wall near it, and only some broken embankments with Anglesey hedges on the top.

A few years ago the land came by inheritance, on the death of Lord Dinorben, to the present possessor of Kinmel; and the tenant, desirous of shewing respect to his new landlord, determined to celebrate the occasion with a bonfire. This fire he lighted on the top of the cromlech; and though the stone was five feet thick, the action of the fire and the air split the ponderous mass right through the middle, crossways! Of course this injury was not intended; but it was well known and lamented in the neighbourhood,—for several labouring people mentioned the circumstance to me, and regretted it. As it now stands, the combined action of autumn rains and winter frosts will infallibly enlarge the crack, and will complete the disintegration of the stone. The cap, too, stands now on only three stones, and is in the most imminent danger of coming down altogether; for one of them supports it by an extremely small point, *very near* one of the sides of the triangle of gravity; and so fine is this point, that it is a wonder how it can withstand the great pressure bearing upon it.

The stones are all of a metamorphic character, containing crystals of quartz, chlorite, and feldspar; almost granitic in texture.

Ten men, with three or four horses and some powerful levers, would repair this cromlech in a single day, and guarantee its preservation for ages. But will they do so?

H. L. J.

Oct. 26, 1863.

SAINT MICHAEL'S MOUNT, CARNAC.

DURING the meeting of the Association at Penzance last year, I announced the probability of the grand tumulus at Carnac, called Mont St. Michel, being carefully explored by local antiquaries. Within a few days after the announcement the work commenced, and the following is a brief account of the important discoveries made.

It may, however, be desirable to notice the form of this tumulus, which is more remarkable for its length than height. The upper portion has, moreover, been removed at some distant period, so as to form a level surface for the erection of a chapel. The present building is, however, not of any great antiquity. The exterior coat of the tumulus is composed of small blocks of granite, now, by lapse of time, covered with turf; which circumstance, together with that of its great length, gives it an appearance more of a natural than artificial hill.

The operations were commenced by a series of pits sunk in the line of the larger axis, and driven downwards, to the depth of two feet and a half, through the outer layer of small granite blocks; beneath which was found a bed of light, dry sea-sand (vase), which extended to the depth of four or five feet, when the stones appeared again below.

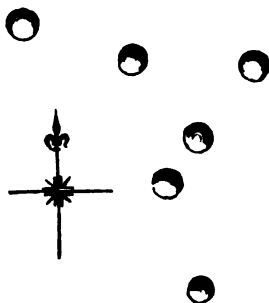
The next step taken was to ascertain as nearly as possible the centre of the mound. A point in the plateau was therefore fixed on, a little to the east of that which would cover the centre so determined; and a shaft of two yards by one was sunk, in a perpendicular direction, to the depth of about twenty-five feet. Great difficulty occurred in this work from the falling in of the stones; which was, however, got over by the assistance of some skilled miners from the neighbourhood. At the distance mentioned the excavators came upon a row of large stones forming a kind of wall, evidently connected

with the chamber. This wall was carefully followed towards the north, for about a yard, until the east side of the chamber was reached ; and, by good luck, at the only point where an entrance could be effected into the interior without damaging the structure. Previous, however, to any one being allowed to enter, a very proper precaution was taken, to survey the interior from the outside by the aid of lamps ; which revealed only the cutting edges of two stone celts projecting a little above the surface, and three large jasper beads, which shone as brightly as if they had been deposited there the day before.

After this survey an entrance was made with great care, and measurements taken of the chamber—an irregular, four-sided figure,—the north side measuring nearly two yards and a half, the south side two yards ; the east a little more than western one,—a yard and a half. Three of these sides (the northern, southern, and western) were built of rude, horizontal courses, alternately of large and small stones, without mortar ; while the eastern one was composed of two vertical slabs of granite. It was, evident, therefore, that the three sides of masonry were built first ; and that the eastern end was the entrance, and closed after the articles had been deposited in the positions they were found.

The chamber was covered by one large slab, which rested on the three walls of masonry only, falling short of the upright slabs at the eastern end. Although the supporting walls were more than six feet thick at the lower part, yet the courses of smaller stones seem to have given way, and caused the covering slab, charged with such an enormous weight above, to split through its length. By the most fortunate of chances, however, the faces of the fractured parts, by thrusting against each other, formed a kind of arch, thus preventing any further mischief. No traces of figures or sculpture could be detected on this slab, or on the two eastern ones. On the former one, however, were found certain small circular depressions, of which the first explorers,

M. De Galles and his colleagues, counted only four; but which were, by subsequent examination, found to be six, arranged in this order.



Additional lights having been procured, M. De Galles entered alone into the interior, while his companions stood without, noting down his observations. The first remarkable discovery made was that the floor of the chamber was uniformly covered with a deep bed of dry, soft dust, which felt to the hand thrust in it like wheaten flour. This bed was carefully examined in parallel lines, and every time an object was extracted, its place and number were marked down by those outside. The following are the articles thus discovered:

1. Eleven celts of jade, in perfect preservation, measuring from fifteen inches to two and a half. Two were perforated with a hole in the smaller end. One of these two last mentioned had been broken in three parts, two of them lying at one end of the chamber, and the third at the opposite extremity. The position of the fragments clearly indicates that the instrument was broken previously to its being deposited. Another of these eleven celts bore indications of having been intended to be bored like the other two; but the workings on each side not exactly corresponding with one another, the attempt had been given up, and the implement thus left in its imperfect state.

2. Two large celts of a coarser material than the preceding, both of which had been broken across.

3. Twenty-six small ones in hard and compact tremolithe,—all provided with very sharp cutting edges ; one of these with two such edges, one at each extremity.

4. Nine pendants (*pendiloques*) and one hundred and one small beads, mostly of jasper ; all pierced, and evidently the remains of one or more necklaces.

5. Two fragments of flint.

In the north-west corner was a small flat stone lying in a slightly inclined position, and which appeared to have been designedly so placed, and not by accident. On removing it with great care, the upper portion of a ring of beads was found perfect ; the beads composing the other part had escaped, but were subsequently found and collected. These small beads were of bone or ivory, and were transverse sections of a small cylinder of one of those substances. The dimensions of the ring were such as to indicate that it had been worn by a female.

The celts thus found were grouped more thickly towards the western than the eastern sides, and were so placed in relation to the remaining two sides of the chamber as to leave an open space in the centre, with a view apparently to some particular purpose. Out of the whole number, no two celts were exactly similar.

One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the discovery is the fact that all those celts were placed vertically, the smaller ends downwards, the cutting edges projecting more or less above the surface of the thick bed of soft impalpable dust already mentioned. M. de Galle's explanation of this curious arrangement is the reverse of satisfactory, and altogether untenable. He supposes an enormous quantity of skins, clothes, or similar articles, to have been laid upon the ground, and the celts placed horizontally thereon. As in course of time these furs and cloths gradually mouldered into dust, the heavier portions of the celts, which he assumes to be that which may be called the haft or handle, sank gradually through the different layers, until they came into a vertical position, and remained thus, supported by walls of dust on each side.

Unfortunately, however, the portion of the celts, which he assumes to be the heavier, are the lighter of the two, and therefore, by the laws of gravitation, the result would have been the very reverse to what was found to be the fact on the first opening of the chamber. In addition to this, the dust itself has since been ascertained to have been a mixture of earth and ashes, while it is clear that the chamber could not have at any time contained such a mass of these supposed skins, which must have existed, if the present dust is merely their remains. The only conclusion we can arrive at, therefore, is, that at the time of closing the chamber the floor of it was first covered with a thick bed of the dust and the stone implements, designedly placed in rows in a perpendicular position, with the cutting and broad edges upwards. This bed of dust on being removed was found to cover an irregular pavement of flat stones. These in their turn having been removed, a small space between them and the natural surface of the rock was discovered. That here was the actual grave was indicated by the presence of fragments of wood charcoal, and of bones, among which M. de Galle found what he considered to be a portion of the skull, still retaining a number of hairs. The position of the body also, according to the same authority, was clearly east and west. He, however, appears to have been in error in supposing that the body had not been previously burnt, but had been placed in a coffin, which he states to have been of oak. The space, moreover, between the flags and the rocks was so narrow, that, in his opinion, the latter must have originally rested on the actual coffin. Unfortunately, however, for these conjectures, careful examination of the remains by the most competent authorities determined, beyond all question, that no body or coffin had been placed there at all, but only the remains of a human body previously reduced to ashes by intense heat.

An account of the excavation was drawn up and communicated by M. de Galle to the Prefect, who had

set a noble example to the gentlemen of the district by his munificent subscription towards the fund for the expenses of the excavation. But since that report was issued, an additional discovery was made of a small recess, hardly to be called a chamber, on the north side of the chamber. This was found completely filled with earth, containing numerous fragments of charcoal and burnt bones. The charcoal existed in two forms—one of mere powder, the other of fragments of various sizes, most of which, by the existence of parallel shining fibres, indicated their vegetable nature; others appeared to be animal charcoal. The great mass, however, consisted of a mixture of cinders, earth, and an earthy and vegetable matter. Of the bone fragments, viz. those found in the first and second chamber, some were in a state of cinder, others clearly exhibited all the signs of uniform calcination, such as lightness, a certain peculiar whiteness, great friability, clearness of fracture, and facility of being pulverized. Some were also covered with a layer of soot, others incorporated with brown masses of carbonized earth; others, again, were simply carbonized bone. Among the bone fragments were clearly detected a portion of the ribs, of the shoulder, the wrist, and upper and lower jawbones. Among them were three particular fragments, which were, as already stated, thought to be portions of a skull, still retaining a considerable quantity of hair; but, on a closer examination (by the aid of a glass), they appeared to be merely a solid crust, into which vegetable earth, grains of mica, particles of wood, and bone-dust, acted on by fire, had entered. On the surface existed a kind of felt-like surface, from which the hairs proceeded, and which were visible to the naked eye, some being brown, and others perfectly white, but of less diameter than that of an adult man, and presenting other peculiarities, which precluded the supposition that they were human hairs. On breaking one of these fragments, the wingcase of an insect was laid bare, and was identified as having belonged to the *Ptinus Fur*.

The hairs, then, were not hairs at all, but the bones could be identified as having been those of an adult or old man. The undoubted facts of all the bones found beneath the floor of the chamber having been subjected to the action of fire, completely upsets M. de Galle's theory of the corpse in a wooden coffin. In addition to the above, some small fragments of granite were found, which (from their colour, and other peculiarities), must have been subjected also to a strong heat, so that there appears to be no question but that, in the case of the interment of Mont St. Michel, the practice of incineration had been carried into effect, and in a very effectual manner. Some also of the celts appeared to have been submitted to the same action.

This closes the account of the discoveries made in this very important examination, and which clearly indicate the particular process employed. A pile of combustible matter was raised probably on the same spot on which the chamber was subsequently built. The burnt fragments of granite found with the remains have, no doubt, been detached by heat from the surface of the rock. During the burning of the corpse some of the celts were thrown into the fire. The ashes, mixed with vegetable matter (charcoal, etc.), are then collected and placed on the spot, and covered with the flat stones which formed the floors of the chamber. The surface of this floor is then thickly covered with a bed of earth, etc., in or on which are deposited the necklaces and the celts in the position they were found. The little ring was at the same time placed in a corner of the crypt, and covered with a separate stone. The three walls of the chamber were erected, either previously or subsequently, to the depositing the layer of dust and earth. The great covering stone then was placed in its position, and the eastern entrance closed up with the two slabs. The whole was then covered up with fragments of rock, over which was laid the light sand to a considerable thickness, and finally the outer covering of stones placed over the sand completed the work.

However important many of the facts connected

with this discovery are, yet when we compare the small size of the actual chamber and its small appended cavity with the large diameter of the tumulus, we cannot but suspect that other chambers still exist, which remain to be discovered, and which are probably placed on the line of the principal axis of the mound.

The following seem to be the more important facts of this exploration.

1. That no implements except those of stone and bone were found, the small beads of the ring being thought to have been cut from the bone of some bird. The same has been uniformly, I believe, found to be the case with other stone chambers in Armorica, with the exception of the celebrated ones of Plouharnel, where, in addition to stone implements, were found two broad gold collars. No instance of any bronze weapon being found in a chamber in Britany is recorded, as far as I am aware, although they are of common occurrence under other circumstances, while we find such numerous and fine specimens of stone implements buried with the dead. It may fairly, therefore, be inferred, from the absence of bronze or iron, that those metals were not in use at the period of these stone chambers.

2. As in the case of the monster tumulus and chamber of Tumiatic, not far from Mont St. Michel, some of the celts were found broken, the cleanness of the fractures indicating that they had been intentionally broken. Most are familiar with numerous instances of the same practice in the case of bronze implements.

3. The alternation of beds of stone and sand occurs also in the case of Tumiatic, though in the latter case the mound is principally composed of sand, with layers of stone, as if for the purpose of securing the lighter material. Unless the nature of the locality has undergone considerable alterations since the erection of the tumulus, as well as of Mont St. Michel, the sand would appear to have been obtained from the sea shore, now at some little distance,—a circumstance that must have considerably increased the labour of the builders. As the most

numerous and most important monuments of this class are, at least in Britany if not elsewhere, invariably found on or near the sea coast, and as there is reason to think that one branch at least of the great Celtic family came westward along the line of coast, there may perhaps be some peculiar reason for the use of sea sand in the erection of these monuments wherever possible. There are several important tumuli in this district which have not yet been properly examined, and in which the same construction may be found to exist.

4. A fourth fact to be noticed is, that the principal remains of the body or bodies were found, not on the floor of the chamber, but underneath it. In this case the floor seems to have been composed of several small flags, not of one or two large ones, as is sometimes found; and therefore an examination of the space beneath was easily effected. But in some instances this does not appear to have been done; as in the case of the celebrated chamber at Gavrynys, in the same locality, or in that of the chamber at the foot of Mount Hellu, at Locmariaker, where the floors consist of single slabs. In any examinations, therefore, of such monuments which may yet be made, it would be desirable to continue them *below* the actual floor, even if sepulchral and other remains be found *upon* it.

5. The direction of this chamber pointed towards the east. This seems to be usually the case, with slight variations. If, according to certain Druidic theories, the entrances of such chambers, and of our own stone circles, were originally constructed so as to face the exact point of the rising sun on any particular day, some approximation might, as M. De Galles suggests, be arrived at to their true age. For by taking the mean of their different orientations, the equinoctial point in the time of those who erected the structures would be approximately ascertained. This point being gained, a simple process of calculation, by the law of the precession of equinoxes, would determine the number of years that have elapsed since that period. Unfortu-

nately, however, the whole process rests upon very uncertain grounds, viz., the fact that this law of orientation was carefully carried into effect by the builders of these monuments; the sole authority for such a statement being that of mediæval Druidism.

6. The last point which seems to deserve notice is the difference in the interment of the body or bodies in two monuments of the same class, and apparently of the same age. In the Tumiæ chamber the body had been placed in its natural state; in that of Mont St. Michel complete incineration had first taken place.

That the two monuments are the work of the same people will be generally admitted. They are exactly similar in construction, the only points of difference being that the chamber in the former case is larger, and has some of its walls ornamented with singular patterns; while nothing of the kind exists in the latter case, except the six small circular depressions on the under surface of the covering stone. The tumulus, also, at Mont St. Michel is very long; that at Tumiæ of the usual conical form. The same kind of implements and ornaments, some of them in each case broken, were found in both of them. The layers of stone and sand, though not exactly in the same manner, occur in both; they are both within the same locality, divided only by a narrow channel, and must, without doubt, be assigned to the same age and the same builders. The northern antiquaries give a priority in age to graves where the bodies were buried unburnt; the rule, however, does not obtain here, for if any difference of age may be inferred from the ruder or more costly nature of the work, the chamber at Mont St. Michel, being smaller and unornamented, may be considered anterior to that at Tumiæ. But it is more likely that the two monuments are of the same age, and they seem to indicate additional proof that the builders of them adopted both methods at the same time, neither system existing to the exclusion of the other. It was so with ancient Greece, and more or less continued until

the fourth century of the Christian era, as well as in Italy. Marius was buried; Sulla was the first of the Cornelia gens whose body was burnt, according to Cicero; while we have a still more ancient proof that the double practice existed anterior even to these dates, in the law of the twelve tables: "Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito."

Of all the monuments usually called Celtic or Druidic, whether of pillar stones, chambers, circles, avenues, etc., the simple chamber, Cromlech or Dolmen, with or without its covered gallery, is now generally acknowledged to be the earliest. The fact of the two practices of inhumation or burning being found coexisting in the same locality, and under circumstances almost identical, remains to be explained by those who place the former practice at a much earlier period than the latter.

E. L. BARNWELL.

THE BRONZE SPOON-SHAPED ARTICLES.

IN the notice of these curious articles given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1862 (pp. 208-219), it is stated that the Denbighshire pair (now in the Edinburgh Museum) differed from the other examples in not having the aperture in the so-called spoon marked with a cross. On subsequent and closer examination it appears that this is not the case, and that what was previously considered an accidental fracture, was in fact the usual aperture made in the edge of the spoon, as in the case of the specimen in Mr. Albert Way's collection, and not at some little distance from it, as in those in the British and Ashmolean Museums. Where the aperture is situated, in the case of the Irish ones, I have not yet been able to ascertain from Dr. Wilde.

The Denbighshire pair, therefore, is not an exception

to the rule which may be considered established, at least for the present, namely, that the articles occur in pairs; that one of them is more or less ornately marked with a cross; and that the other is provided with a small aperture in or near its edge.

It is also observed that, although existing in pairs, they are not always from the same mould, however similar in pattern and device. The most simple of the pairs at present known to exist, namely the Denbighshire one, is the only case in which the same mould has been used for both. There is little doubt but that the specimens belonging to Mr. Albert Way and the British Museum are the remaining halves of two other pairs. If by any extraordinary chance these should ever come to light, it is very probable that both of them will be found to have the cross, and not the aperture.

The only suggestion as to their use yet offered, is that of Mr. Clibbon, namely, that they were intended for administering the wafer at the Eucharist. On asking the opinion of the Rev. Everard Arundel (late of Tremeirchion College, near St. Asaph), that gentleman kindly furnished me with extracts as to the early use of spoons for that service. From these extracts it appears that although the primitive usage was to receive the consecrated bread in the palm of the hand (St. Cyril's *Fifth Mystagogical Catechism*, 21, Oxford translation, p. 279), yet still later the spoons seem to have been partially adopted.

In Dr. Binterim's *Denkwürdigkeiten* (vol. iv, Part I, p. 186) we are informed that the spoon, which was reckoned by the ancients among the articles of church furniture, served many different purposes. First, in many churches the consecrated element of bread, after having been dipped in the sacred cup, was given to lay communicants in a spoon. This was particularly the case when it was administered to children after solemn baptism. Secondly, the deacons used to take the host out of the pyx with a spoon, so as to lay it on the paten without touching it with their fingers. (Du Cange, *ad*

vocem "cochlear, forceps.") Thirdly, in the seventh and eighth centuries the priest used to take the water to mix with the wine of the oblation in a spoon. So far Dr. Binterim.

From the beginning of the ninth century, if not earlier, it was customary in the Greek and other oriental churches to administer Holy Communion by conveying in a spoon a particle of the holy oblation that had been soaked in wine. This custom gained ground in some of the Western Churches, as in France, Spain, and even in England, as appears by a prohibitory canon of a synod held in London A.D. 1171. (Le Brun on the Mass and Liturgical Services. 2 *Conc.*, tom. x, can. 16.)

This custom seems, however, never to have been extensive or encouraged: at least the tendency of the ecclesiastical legislation from the period of the introduction of the usage, about the latter end of the eighth century until the end of the twelfth, was to confine this mode of administering to cases where it was made necessary by circumstances. This, however, only applies to the Western Churches, as in the East both those in communion with the Roman Church, and those which have separated, still administer with a spoon.

Another use of spoons still adhered to in church ceremonies, is that of pouring water from the font on the head of the catechumen. But in England formerly, as appears by the *Sarum Ritual*, baptism by immersion was the usual and regular way of administering the first Sacrament.

It was suggested by a gentleman to Mr. Arundel, that perhaps one of these spoons (if they are such) was used in removing the wafer from the chalice. In this case the perforated one would be the one employed, as the wine would drain off through the small aperture. When thus drained, the wafer was transferred to the other spoon marked with a cross, and thus administered to the communicant. This conjecture would seem to explain the use of the small aperture in one spoon, the mark of the cross in the other.

There are, however, difficulties yet to be explained, namely the nature of the metal—bronze. Not only was it liable to corrode from the wine, but it is difficult to imagine that vessels made for such a purpose would not have been made of some more costly material. Nothing also could be more inconvenient than the short handles, if the chalice was of the ordinary size and form, and not full to the brim.

Some may also consider that the ornamentation is of an earlier character than would be probably in existence in the eighth or ninth centuries. Mr. Augustus Franks thinks them to be of late Celtic character, although it is not easy to determine at what period such a style ceased to exist. The common interlaced pattern, at least in Scotland, continued to times almost modern. It was found on arms used at Culloden. The ornamentation of these articles, however, bears no trace of this pattern; but rather a resemblance to that of the figured disk given in the *Catalogue of Antiquities* in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, at p. 631; of that of the spectacle brooch at p. 256. On referring to the Cardiganshire specimens, now in the Ashmolean Museum, a resemblance to the spectacle ornament so common on the Scottish figured stones is easily traced.

The main difficulty, however, seems to exist in the leaf-shaped form of the spoon, so completely different



from all ancient spoons, which have invariably ovoid, or sometimes nearly circular bowls, and generally provided

with long handles. At p. 538 of the *Catalogue* of the Irish Museum are figures of four spoons, but none of them can claim any great antiquity. There are, however, two or three curious ones in the Museum at Bruges which are probably as early or earlier than those which are the subject of these remarks. Instead of short handles they are provided with a small hook, apparently for the sake of suspension. They are made of bronze, and appear to have been cast. The accompanying cut represents one of these articles a little smaller than the real size. They are of a totally different form to our so-called ones, and are evidently ordinary domestic utensils. The other cut is from a copy, by Mr. Arundel,



from Goar's *Encheiridion*, and represents an ancient ecclesiastical spoon used in the celebration of the Eucharist, for which purpose it seems as conveniently formed as the spoon-shaped article is inconvenient.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Ruthin, Dec. 3, 1863.

Correspondence.

LLYWARCH HEN AND URICONIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Two papers have appeared in the Journal of the present year, which must have been read with interest by most of our members. The first, in the April number, was that "On the English Conquest of the Severn Valley," by Dr. Guest; and the second, an extract from Mr. Wright's forthcoming work on Uriconium. Both deal with debateable topics; both clash in their arguments; and both, in my judgment, involve important errors. It may therefore not be without interest, to read what can be said from a Cambrian stand point, by one who holds the Elegy on Cynddylan to be a genuine ancient British poem: and, though now comparatively modernized in dress, substantially the work of the warrior-bard Llywarch Hen.

There are three important questions discussed in the papers here referred to, viz.:—

1. The antiquity of the Poems attributed to Llywarch Hen.
2. The date of the destruction of Uriconium.
3. The site of the Battle of Fethern-leagh.

On the first question I have no dispute with Dr. Guest; though, for the moment, I was certainly startled by his statement that the Elegy of Cynddylan is not in the *Llyfr Du* or Black Book of Caermarthen, formerly at Hengwrt, and now at Peniarth. The statement, however, is quite accurate: and is in perfect consistency with the account of the MS. given by Edward Lhuyd (*Arch. Brit.* 225 and 261). But although the Elegy of Cynddylan is not in this MS., there are other poems attributed to the same author. Dr. Guest states there are *three* such poems; but he does not name them: I wish he had, as from Lhuyd's account I can only make out two, namely:—

1. "Kerth i veibion Lhywarch Hen," or a Song to the sons of Lhywarch the Aged.
2. "Kerth Gereint ab Erbin," or, The Song (Elegy) of Gereint ab Erbin.

Between these two Lhuyd places *Kerth i Wyddno Garanhir*, a *Kerth* or Poem, made when the sea overwhelmed Cantrev y Gwaelod; and *Enwe meibion Llywarch Hen*, or the names of the sons of that old Bard. As the latter is not stated to be a poem, I presume that that song to Gwyddno is one of Dr. Guest's three, though it is not attributed to him in the Myvyrian Archæology.

Dr. Guest does not dispute the antiquity of *Marwnad Cyddylan*: on the contrary, he uses it as a document sufficiently reliable and ancient to determine the date of the destruction of Uriconium. His candour in this respect, is in marked contrast to the slashing criticism

of Mr. Wright, and is the more commendable, as he took a great deal of trouble to consult the *Llyfr Du*, and must have been greatly disappointed when he found he had undertaken a long journey with no other result than the unpleasant discovery that the Editors of the Myvyrian and M. Villemarqué had led him astray. The conduct of the Editors of the Myvyrian, in giving various readings of this poem as from the *Llyfr Du*, is to me quite unaccountable,—and that the more especially as they certainly had access to the MS. and have published other poems which do not exist in any other MS. than this Black Book. M. Villemarqué also certainly had access to the Hengwrt MSS.; and, I presume, will feel called upon to offer some explanation. The fact thus established—that our copies of the ancient Welsh poems are not accurate transcripts of the oldest MSS., and that it is seldom apparent what MSS. really form the texts of the Myv. Arch. cannot fail to cause much disquietude; but it will, I trust, hasten the appearance of Mr. Skene's proposed edition; wake up the Welsh MSS. Society; or induce Mr. Wynne of Peniarth himself to take some steps to publish the literary treasures of which he is now the fortunate possessor.

Unlike Dr. Guest, Mr. Wright views the Elegy of Cynddylan and Welsh Poems generally, with extreme disfavour. He refers the composition of the poem to the fifteenth century, to the time of the insurrection of Owen Glyndwr, to the reign of Henry V; and to the same period, he says, that "most of the spurious bardic poetry seems to be traced," the fact being that the period he names was singularly free from spurious poetry. He then proceeds to give several details of internal evidence in favour of this decision. I shall notice these *seriatim*; but before dealing with these positive reasons, it may be well to offer a remark or two on a line of argument which has been taken before by others, and is suggested, though not expressly urged, by Mr. Wright.

It is sometimes remarked that the Welsh MSS. are long posterior in date to the Bards, whose works they profess to exhibit; that the oldest MS. belongs to the twelfth century; that "we can go no further back than the *Llyfr Du*; and that for the proof of an earlier date of the compositions themselves, we have only such internal evidence as they may afford." (Nash. *Taliesin*, p. 60). The two first statements are embodiments of facts; the two last are rules of criticism, which, though they occur in the same page, are not consistent with each other. Further, the first of the two latter is not a safe rule; and the second involves prejudgment. I will briefly attempt to prove these assertions.

In the first place, then, I think we may fairly claim that the literature of Wales should be treated with the same candour as the literature of other countries. In discussing this question, I shall treat it as one of MSS. and internal evidence only, and exclude collateral evidences of every kind. In the first proposition, Mr. Nash affirms that we cannot go further back than the oldest MS. Very good: but will Mr. Nash be content to apply this rule to the ancient literature of any other country? May we apply it to the literature of Egypt—

the subject of his last and very able work? May we apply it to the literature of the Hindoos, of the Greeks, the Romans, or the Hebrews? I presume that neither Mr. Nash, nor any other critic, will give affirmative replies to these questions, even when proposed thus generally; and still less likely will they be to do so when the questions are put more specifically. The Egyptian chronicles are only known in transcripts of a much later date: may we conclude that the transcripts of Manetho afford no proof that there was an original, that there really never was such a person as Manetho, and there is no good ground for supposing that what is accepted as Egyptian history is anything else than a comparatively late fabrication? I believe that there are no Sanskrit MSS. comparable in point of date to the asserted antiquity of Hindoo literature: but may we thence conclude that the date of the oldest MS. of the Vedas is the age of the Vedas themselves? Have we any MSS. of the Greek and Roman writers, that come as near to the age of the reputed authors as the *Llyfr Du* does to the age of Llywarch Hen? Let us consider a few patent literary facts. The Townley Homer is considered to be one of the earliest complete MSS. of the Iliad; but this is not earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth century. Cannot we go further back than the date of this MS., or must we conclude that Homer was a contemporary of Edward the First, and the Iliad the work of some poet of the middle ages? Let me approach, and with becoming reverence, that most endearing and vitally important of all literatures, the Holy Scriptures. The oldest MS. of the Greek Testament, the Codex Vaticanus, is not earlier than the close of the fourth century; but must we assume the age of the compositions therein contained to be identical with that of the MS. Must we assume that the Epistles of Paul were the work of some Simonides of the reign of Theodosius; or may we go further back? Lastly, the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The oldest MS. is, I believe, that at Vienna, which is usually dated A.D. 1100. King David reigned from 1040 B.C. to 1015 B.C. (Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, pp. 106, 112); and, therefore the composition of the Psalms may be dated full two thousand years before the transcription of the oldest copy now known to us. Would it be safe to apply the critical rule of Mr. Nash in this case? Or, might we venture, with *only* internal evidence for our guide, to conclude that the monarch-minstrel of Judah was the undoubted author of those inspired songs which bear his name, and which, for nearly thirty centuries, lighted weary pilgrims through the journey of life.

Let us descend to meaner things. Enough has, I trust, been said to shew that the Procrustean bed prepared for our old bards is too short; that our critics mete to us a measure that they would not mete to any other nation; that we may go back beyond the oldest MS., when that MS. professes to transcribe the poems of an earlier age; that *only* internal evidence is quite sufficient, and as safe a guide in reference to the literature of Wales, as to that of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, or Hindostan. This is really the evidence on which we accept all ancient literature. The evidence in favour of the British bards is quite as good as that which commands acceptance for other authors;

and I think their poems have a full and fair claim to be considered genuine, until strong and convincing proofs are shewn to the contrary. This conclusion arises naturally from the history of man and of general literature. The mass of mankind are passably honest. The attitude we assume towards men is that of confidence, not of suspicion; and that confidence is only withdrawn from individuals when they are found by experience to be unworthy of it. So it is with regard to books and manuscripts. The vast majority of published books are undoubtedly the works of their professed authors; and the mass of manuscript literature is confessedly genuine. Spurious compositions are comparatively few in number. They are exceptions, not the rule; and the smallness of their number, in proportion to the whole mass of authentic documents, certainly does not justify us in assuming an attitude of hostility towards every new claimant to respectful consideration. The sum, therefore, of human experience, in reference to both men and books, justifies us Welshmen in claiming that our ancient literature shall be approached with confidence and candour, and that these claims ought not to be rejected until they have been carefully and impartially considered.

With reference to the composition which forms the principal subject of this paper, namely Marwnad Cynddylan, there are special circumstances which constitute a strong *prima facie* claim to respectful treatment. It is a well known fact that literary compositions, in their transmission from age to age, are frequently altered and modified to suit the taste of later periods. Is not the obsolete diction of portions of the English Bible even now urged as a reason for revision? And I presume that no one will assert that the modernized versions of Dryden and Pope afford any ground for disputing the genuineness of the poems of Chaucer. There are copies of Marwnad Cynddylan of a later date, and in a more modern orthography, than those of the Red Book of Hergest; but this fact, so far from proving its recent origin, affords a fair presumption that the late copy is a modernized transcript of an earlier MS.; and the presumption in this case would be fully justified by the occurrence of an older copy in the Red Book, while that copy in its turn would justify the inference that this also was a transcript from some older exemplar. Again, the Red Book contains other poems attributed to Llywarch Hen; for instance, the Elegy of Geraint ab Erbin. The occurrence of this poem, professedly as a copy, justifies the inference that this also was a transcript from some older document. Here again the inference would be justified by the discovery of an older copy in the Llyfr Du. This copy, in its turn, warrants us in assuming that there was a still older original existing in the twelfth century; and if the internal evidence affords no presumption to the contrary, we may fairly infer that the poem is substantially a relic of the sixth century, and the genuine work of its professed author. The question of the acceptance of the poetry of the old British bards is therefore reduced to one of internal evidence.

It is to this aspect of the question that Mr. Wright addresses himself; and I will now proceed to examine his arguments. His first assertion is, that the metre of Marwnad Cynddylan is one that was

introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century. He has made this assertion before; and he seems to think that it will apply to more than one of the Welsh metres. In his last published work he cited as an example of an imitation of a Norman metre, what Welsh bards call a "huppynt." This metre is of two kinds, a long and a short. There are, moreover, two forms of it: one old, as found in the poems of Aneurin and the elder bards; and another of the middle ages. A good example of the long "huppynt" of the older form may be found in Wordsworth:

"In youth from rock to rock I went,
From hill to hill, in discontent;
Of pleasure high and turbulent,
Most pleas'd when most uneasy;

"But now my own delights I make,
My thirst at every rill can slake,
And gladly nature's love partake
Of thee, sweet daisy!"

The short "huppynt" consists of six lines,—the first and second, fourth and fifth, *third* and *sixth*, rhyming together. The long "huppynt" has eight lines: the *fourth* and *eighth* rhyming together, and the rest being triplets. Wordsworth has no *cynghanedd*, or consonancy, in his lines; neither had the elder bards; but in the "huppynt" of the middle ages this was a *sine quâ non*. For example:

"Y mae gorhoff em a garaf
O gof aelaw, ag a folaf
A choeliaf gael ei chalon;
Am na welais i myn Elien
O Lanurfyl i lan Aerfen
Wawr mor wen o'r Morwynion."

DAFYDD AP EMWNT, AD. 1450.

Here it will be seen that each line is divided into two parts, the consonants of the first half corresponding to those of the second. This was the metre of the fifteenth century, which Mr. Wright fixes upon as the time for comparison; and Mr. Wright, to sustain his argument, must do what he has not yet done, namely, produce a Norman metre corresponding in all essential particulars with Welsh verses like the above.

We come now to the metre of Llywarch Hen, viz. "Triban Milwr," or the warrior's triplet. Here again the triplet of the sixth and seventh centuries differed from that of the middle ages, in the absence of *cynghanedd*: that, in fact, among Cambrian critics, would be held to be one proof of its antiquity. Another fact is this, that the metre does not appear to have been used by the mediæval bards; so that I cannot produce from among them an earlier example than one of the sixteenth century:

"Y llew gwrdd, perchen llu gwych,
Goreu rioed o'r gwyr ydych,
Rheola'r ffordd yr elych."

DAFYDD LLWYD MATHEW, A.D. 1580.

Here, again, we have the mediæval characteristic which does not occur in the Elegy of Cynddylan, and which Mr. Wright will not match in Norman verse. But, even if he could comply with these conditions, his argument would still be utterly worthless; for there is no difficulty in producing an example of the warrior's triplet four, if not five, centuries prior to the twelfth century. M. Villemarqué has called attention to a peculiarity in the Elegy of Cynddylan, in the use of the overlapping word *heno* in the first lines of his triplets. This occurs in *twenty-three* verses, of which one verse will suffice as an example:

"Stauell gyndylan ystywyll—heno
heb dan heb gannwyll
Namyn duv pvy am dyrypyyll."

I have given it in Dr. Guest's transcript. Now it happens that triplets with this adjunct, and having the characteristics of Llywarch's metre, occur in a MS. of Juvenius in the Bodleian Library. I will transcribe them as they are given by Lhwyt (*Arch. Brit.*, 221):

"Niguorcosam nemheunaur henoid
Mitelu nit gurmaur
Mi amfranc dam ancylaur.

Nicanil niguardam nucusam henoid
Cet iben med nouel
Mi amfranc dam an patel.

Namereit un nepleguenid henoid
isdiacinn mi coueidid
dou nam riceur imguetid."

Several translations of these triplets have been given; but none of them are quite satisfactory, and therefore I may be pardoned if I offer one more:

I will not oversleep, I will not doze—to-night.
My family is not over large.
My amfranc¹ will bring our kettle.

I will not sing, I will not laugh—to-night,
While they drink clear mead.
My amfranc will bring our bowl.

Let no one give gladness to us—to-night,
Until my collaborator descends.
God, protector, let my prayer be granted!

Lhwyt refers this MS. to the seventh century, and Zeuss to the eighth century. Here, then, we have triplets of the kind used by Llywarch, and which may have been sung by the old bard himself, full four centuries, if not five, anterior to the time when Mr. Wright says the metre was introduced by the Normans. His argument, therefore, fails most completely; and I think it would be far more justifiable to assert that

¹ I have left the word *amfranc* untranslated. It is evidently a compound word signifying "amphor," or jug-bearer, and is probably a contraction of *amphora* and *ancilla*. *Amphoræ*, or Roman jugs, are found in old Romano-British towns, and were probably used by the Britons also.

the Normans borrowed the triplet from the Kymry, than that the latter received it from the Normans.

Again, Mr. Wright asserts that "Ydrev Wen," or white town of the poem, is a translation from Wittington, and that the latter does not signify a white town, but the residence of a family of Withingas or Wittingas. For this we have only the assertion of Mr. Wright, and are asked to accept that as being all sufficient; but I for one desiderate something more. The correspondence between the Welsh and English names far outweighs, in my judgment, the denial of Mr. Wright, and renders it of but little, if any, value, unless he can support it by specific evidence, that there were Wittingas in this locality. He must, moreover, prove them to have been numerous; for there are similar names in many other places; and we should have to conclude that, not only two other places in Shropshire, Whitchurch, and Wittington, near Oswestry, but also Whitby, Whitehaven, Whithern, and Whitchurch, in Glamorganshire, and many other places are so called from families of Wittingas. Several of these names occur where the Saxons never were; of others we know the origin to be quite different; and with reference to the case in question, we happen to have a parallel instance where there can be no doubt of the priority of the Welsh name. When Howel Dda was about to revise the laws of Wales, he summoned the learned men of the Principality to meet at *Y Ty Gwyn ar Dav*. This name appears in the oldest MS. of the Welsh Laws, which is affirmed by Mr. Aneurin Owen to be as old as the early part of the twelfth century—in fact, the oldest Welsh in existence (Preface, p. xxvi, *Laws* pp. iii and iv); but the place is now only known under the English name of Whitland. Here it is evident that the Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire have translated the older Kymric name; and it is to me equally clear that Wittington, "between the Tern and Rodington," is a Saxon name for

"Y drev wen rhwng Tren a Throdwydd."

Having thus disposed of Mr. Wright's arguments, let me invite attention to one or two of these local names, so as to have a larger number of facts for our induction. The author of the poem says the white town was between Tren and Trodwydd, and again between Tren and Traval. Further, he says that, as the Avaerwy, probably the Weaver, flowed northward, so the Tren flowed southward, to the Trydonwy; and again, that in a line with the Eluyddan, the Trydonwy flowed into the Tren. Here, then, are the names:—Avaerwy=Weaver; Trodwydd=Rodington; Trydonwy=Roden; Tren=Tern; Traval=qy. some place on the Meole, which, after receiving the Rea, flows into the Severn at Shrewsbury. Of these names, which are original, and which are translations? Which would be most likely to experience a difficulty in sounding these names—a Saxon in sounding the Welsh ones, or a Welshman in sounding the English? Would the *Tr* be so easy to a Saxon, that he would not prefer sounding the *R* alone, or would the *R* be so difficult to a Welshman that he would require the *T* as a lift? I submit these questions to English readers, as the persons most likely to experience difficulties of this kind.

Welshmen do not know any difficulties of pronunciation; they can sound Wrekin without dropping the *W*, and pronouncing it Rekin; and old Llywarch Hen could do what most Englishmen cannot, viz. sound URICON as a word of two syllables. To Welshmen, therefore, any further discussion of this point would be a waste of argument; and but few Englishmen would, I believe, hesitate to admit that the presumption is in favour of the originality of the topography of the Welsh poem.

But we must not decide this point too rashly, as Mr. Wright has another topographical argument, which he deems to be insuperable. Llywarch Hen says,—

“The sod of Ercal is on the ashes of fierce
Men of the progeny of Morial”;

and thereupon Mr. Wright remarks that Ercal is an Anglo-Saxon name; that it is a corruption of Erca's-low, or burial mound; that Erca's-low was not really Erca's-low at all, but a Roman barrow; and that this name Erca or Arca (Mr. Wright uses both) is frequently found in the time of the Domesday Survey, and from thence to the end of the fourteenth century, “before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used,” by the author of Marwnad Cynddylan. Let us examine these assertions. We are first told that Ercal, in its entirety, including the final *l*, is an Anglo-Saxon name; then, in the same breath, that it is not a true Saxon name, but a corruption of an imaginary Saxon phrase, which phrase, in its turn, is assumed to be an imaginary and erroneous description of an imaginary Roman barrow; and finally, that Erca and Ercal are identical names! After this curious reasoning and final begging of the question, Mr. Wright takes a leap of four centuries, and finds the name Ercad, not Ercal, in the Domesday Survey: thence he concludes the name is Saxon; that it could not have been British; and that it could not have been named by Llywarch Hen. This, again, is very singular argument. It is as cogent as if we were to say, that the name David occurs as the author of the Psalms, that David Jones is a common name in Wales: *ergo*, that David is an exclusively Welsh name, and that the Psalms are forgeries. But to meet Mr. Wright more directly, I deny that the names Erca and Ercal are identical; and that the occurrence of the name Erca in Domesday Book is conclusive evidence of its Saxon character. The presumption is that neither Erca nor Ercal were Saxon names; for during six centuries of Saxon domination these names do not once occur; and in the Index Onomasticus to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* there is no name at all like either of them. Erca may be a British name, even though it occurs in Domesday; for the Wealas retained a distinct position among their conquerors, as appears from the Saxon Laws, and one of nearly political equality. They may have married with their conquerors, and transmitted their names; they held positions of trust under the Saxon kings; and we have the authority of Kemble for the fact, that British names occur in the signatures to Saxon documents. The name Ercal may be Erse or Gaelic, for words and names resembling it do occur in

Erse and Gaelic histories and vocabularies. It might be Danish, for such names as Eric and Turcil occur among the Danes; or it might be Norman, for both the Danish and Norman conquerors preceded the compilation of Domesday Book. But, in reality, there is no uncertainty as to the British character of the name Ercal, for a name closely resembling it happens to be that of a British regulus living in the days of Llywarch Hen. In a poem, attributed to Taliesin, and addressed to Cynan, son of Brochmel of Powys, who commanded at the battle of Chester A.D. 613, we read of a chief named Aircol; in the *Liber Landavensis* it occurs as that of a Prince of Dyved—Aircol Lawhir, son of Triphun; and the *Englynion Beddau Milwyr*, or verses on the graves of warriors, we read that Bet Airgwl in Dyved, *i.e.*, the grave of Airgwl is in Dyved. (*Myv. Arch.*, i, 82, 168. *Lib. Landav.*, 354, 365, 369, 370.) Moreover, Mr. Wright is involved in this further difficulty. The poet says, that "the sod of Ercal covers the *ashes* of brave men;" but cremation was not practised after the Norman conquest, neither were men buried under tumuli. He has endeavoured to evade the force of this objection by saying that the barrow was probably Roman; but he thereby destroys his own argument; and further, there must have been two Roman barrows, and both misnamed: for there are two Ercals in Shropshire—High Ercal and Child's Ercal. Here, again, Mr. Wright misses the mark.

The next objection is to the name "Frank," where the poet says, "The Frank would not have a word of peace from the mouth of Caranmael." These Franks, says Mr. Wright, were the Frenchmen or Anglo-Normans. This passage has always occasioned doubts as to the antiquity of this verse; but it is by no means so assailable as it seems. The Franks and Saxons in their early incursions were always in alliance. Carausius, it will be found, was appointed to defend the coast of Britain from the attacks of both; and when he usurped the empire of Britain, he took them into his service. He reigned chiefly by the help of Frankish warriors. (Lappenberg, *History of England*, i, 45.) Again, his successor, Allectus, availed himself largely of these allies, as we learn from Eumenius' address to Constantius:

"Such, invincible Cæsar, was the consent of the immortal gods upon your achievements, that your destruction of the enemy, and especially of those of them who were Franks, became most signal and complete; for when those of your soldiers, who had been separated by a fog from the others, arrived at the town of London, they put to death in the streets of that city a large number of that mercenary multitude, who had fled thither from the battle, and hoped to escape and bear with them the plunder of that city."

The defeat of Allectus took place in the West, probably at *Campus Electi*, or Maesaleg in Monmouthshire. Would it be an absurdity to suppose that some of them fled northward and settled themselves on the Welsh border? Half a century later, namely in 364, we find that the Franks and Saxons infested the coast of Gaul, (Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii, 8), and probably of Britain also. If they did this during the Roman occupation, would they be less likely to do so when the legions were withdrawn? As they had been in alliance with the Saxons up

to that time, would they not be likely to participate with them in the conquest of Britain? Lappenberg thinks they did. "Of the participation of the Franks there exists some, though not sufficiently specific accounts; the same may be observed of the Longobards. Little doubt can, however, be entertained regarding either the one or the other, as we elsewhere, in similar undertakings, find Saxons united with Franks and Longobards." (*History of England*, i, 99). As a necessary consequence, the earlier settlers would be forced westwards, and we accordingly ought not to be surprised to find Franks on the Welsh border. That there was such a settlement in Shropshire is all but certain; for do we not find even now a Franktown—an English Frankton and a Welsh Frankton—in the very district to which the *Elegy of Cynddylan* refers. The occurrence of the name Frank, indicates an unsuspected historic fact—it is not a reason for denying the antiquity of the poem.

Mr. Wright then goes on to produce what he terms "a still stronger proof of the ignorance of the writer" of this *Elegy*. This proof consists of a series of assertions: that the writer knew there was the remains of a large town to the south of the Tern; that he did not know its proper designation; and that he invented for it a name derived from that of the Tern. Mr. Wright does not appear to have felt that this latter supposition creates two difficulties, which he ought to have explained away. As Uriconium is on the banks of the Severn, would not the author of the poem have named it Havren rather than Tren—the latter river being further from it, in fact, half a mile away? And again, as the name of the smaller and most distant river was, in the fifteenth century, Tern, and not Tren, why should he have transposed the *r*, and given it a name which really at that time was not the name of the smaller stream? But let that pass. Mr. Wright has here fallen into three errors; for it so happens that the poet did know Uriconium under its proper designation; that he names Tren as a distinct and different town; and that he locates it to the north and west of the Tern, and not half a mile southward. He gives us to understand that the enemy who destroyed Tren *crossed*, or came through, the Tern; evidently from the east.

Here then, the critic, so far from convicting the poet of ignorance, has only exhibited his own mistakes. He has, moreover, missed a conclusive argument in favour of his own view of the date of the destruction of Uriconium; for not only did the poet know this Roman town by its proper designation, but he also bears distinct testimony to the fact that it was then a ruin—that in the first half of the seventh century Uriconium was a city of the past. It is singular that so significant a verse as the following should have been overlooked:

"Neür Syllais o Ddinlle Vrecon
Freuer werydre
Hiraeth am dammorth brodyrdde."

Have I not gazed from the site of the city of Wrecon
Upon the lands of Freuer,
With sorrow for brotherly support.

The expression here used is striking. Uriconium to the poet was not an existing city—not a high placed city as Mr. Owen renders the word—but a *lle din* or *Din-llé*, a place where a city had been; and its fitness as a station for viewing the surrounding country, is well illustrated by the impression produced upon the mind of a recent writer, who visited it before the excavation thereof by Mr. Wright. “If curious to examine a relic of antiquity, you would have pronounced it to be a relic of imperial Rome, and perhaps have sought for other traces. Though not on a hill, you would have been struck by sight of the extensive prospect which the spot commands.” (Walter White, *All Round the Wrekin*, p. 150.) We conclude then, that to the poet Tren and Uriconium were two distinct places; that Uriconium was then a ruin—simply the site of a city; and that for anything that appears to the contrary, the poet might have been Llworth Hen. Mr. Morris and Dr. Guest have also fallen into the same error in identifying Tren and Uriconium; but as my quarrel is not with them, it will suffice for me to refute Mr. Wright. I may, however, observe, in reply to Dr. Guest, that the poem does not warrant the assumption, that the town of Tren was the capital of the district—that was Pengwern, i.e. Shrewsbury. Whether the village of Tern denotes its site may appropriately form a subject for inquiry.

One other argument has to be answered, that which is founded on the reference to “Eglwysau Bassa.” Here he quotes Mr. Eytton, and says that Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, that Bassa’s church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation; and that, as Christianity was only established in Mercia in the year 655, this church could not have existed within a hundred years after the period at which Llywarch Hen is supposed to have written. The force of this objection, that Baschurch cannot be earlier than 655, rests entirely upon the words which I have italicised. Now what are the facts? In the year 633, Edwin of Northumbria was defeated and killed by Penda and Cadwallon. Llywarch Hen sang the Elegy of Cadwallon, who was killed in 635; and the old bard may have lived on even to A.D. 655. The argument, therefore, is not a very formidable one; but, futile as it is, it is urged with rather more emphasis than the facts appear to warrant. Bassa may be a Saxon name, for it occurs *once* in the *Annals of Mercia*; just as Llewelyn Davies would be an English name, because it is that of a clergyman living in London. But to a candid mind, the single occurrence of very distinctive names would rather be held to indicate a foreign origin. Again, the argument from the date when the Mercians became Christians is both overstrained and irrelevant. The Mercians may have been Christians before, though their kings were not; just as there were Christians before Constantine. There was also a speciality connected with Baschurch. It was a *protected* church in a Christian country: hence, if a Saxon church, it would have been founded before the accession of Wulfhere to the throne of Mercia, and would have been that of a refugee who had fled from Penda or Pybba, and sought the protection of Cynddylan; for it is during times of persecution that men become refugees. It was after the Edict of Nantes that the Huguenots fled to England; it was before the Act of Tolera-

tion that the Puritans fled to America. We are, therefore, to reckon backwards from 655, and not forward.

Thus much we might safely infer; but may we not mount a step higher? Who, then, could have been the founder of Baschurch? In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read thus: "A.D. 699.—This year King Egbert (of Kent) gave Reculver to Bass, the mass-priest, that he might build a minster thereon." This Bas, whom Gaimar's chronicle names Bas, may have been the "Bassus miles Æduini" who fled with Paulinus from Northumbria to Kent, on the death of Edwin in 633. Being the friend of Paulinus, he may have been, as the name indicates, a Roman or Italian, and may have come over with him in 601. As the missionaries soon after separated, and found independent spheres of labour,—Mellitus and Justus to the East Saxons and Rochester in 604, and Paulinus to the Northumbrians in 625,—so Bassus may have fixed himself on the Welsh border at an early period, and have emigrated northward to join Paulinus, after the fall of Cynddylan, and on the outbreak of hostilities between Edwin and Cadwallon. Bede's statement that Bassus was a soldier of Edwin's lacks the appearance of truth, and may be simply a conjecture, as it seems to be at variance with the statement of the *A. S. Chron.*; the Mercian Bassa may have been named in honour of the Italian; and as the latter was a church builder in his old age, so in his earlier years he may have been ambitious to found a Roman church on the Welsh border.

I have thus discussed the whole of Mr. Wright's objections; and, now perfectly satisfied that Marwnad Cynddylan was the work of Llywarch Hen, I will proceed to fix, if possible, the date of the death of the bards' protector, and of the destruction of Tren. It must have been after 577, for Caeawg the brother of Cynddylan, who was dead when the bard wrote, fought at the battle of Mannan in 584, survived that, and fell at Cattraeth in 603. (*Annals of Ulster*, a. 584, *Gododin*, line 38); and the statement that the lands of Brochwel had long been ravaged shows that the bard wrote after 613. I am aware that *Caeawg* is rendered by Davies (*Mythology of the Druids*), Ab Ithel, and Villemarqué, "adorned with a wreath;" but I am also aware that Probert treats it as a proper name; and I have no hesitation in asserting that he has exhibited a sounder judgment in so doing. Again, Rhys, apparently the son of Morial, fought at Cattraeth; Rhys, the son of Morial, was dead when Llywarch wrote; and, accordingly, Marwnad Cynddylan was written after 603. The battle of Cattraeth was fought between Ethelfrith of Northumbria and an allied force of Scots and Britons; there were two battles, in the first of which the Britons were victorious. Ethelfrith sent an offer of peace; his messenger was a Briton named Twrch; the offer was rejected; the Britons drank "clear mead" by torchlight, went drunk to battle next day, fell headlong off their horses, and lost the day. Twrch sided with the Angles from having been deprived of his lands by his countrymen—Aneurin thought unjustly (*Gododin*, line); and it was this Twrch who, coming to reclaim his patrimony, pierced Cynddylan through the head. This hostile visit may possibly have

taken place in 613, after the battle of Bangor, where Ethelfrith defeated Brockwel. A part of the resistance offered to Ethelfrith, after the slaughter of the monks, and which, according to Bede, caused a considerable loss of the Anglian forces, may have been that which is recorded by Llywarch Hen. At all events, this is the date I assign to the death of Cynddylan.

I fear that I have no suggestion of any real value to offer respecting the place called Fethan-leag; but in throwing out a new suggestion, there can be no great harm. Cæawlin, in 577, took three British towns, Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, and slew three British princes, Conmail, Condidan, and Farinmael. The similarity of the two last names to Cynddylan and Caranmael has often been noticed, but they do not, I believe, denote the same persons. Farinmael is a name peculiar to the district of Gwent and Glamorgan: it occurs frequently in the *Liber Landavensis*, in the *Annales Cambrie*, a. 775, and Brut y Tywysogion a. 773. It occurs with slight variations, as Fernmail, Fermael, and Fernuail, and must be held to indicate that the men of Gwent opposed Cæawlin in 577. When he came a second time in 584, his course to Gloucester was probably clear of obstruction. Advancing from thence, did he go northward to Chester, or, reviving his quarrel with the men of Gwent, did he turn westward and make for Caerleon? Assuming him to have gone thus far, and the Britons to have retreated northwards, they would have led him to the hilly district, north east of Pontypool. Here is a place called Tre-Fethin. This name is certainly as old as the sixth century; and the place was so-called from Meuthi the preceptor of St. Cattwg. (See *Vita Cadoci* Cambro-British Saints, p. 27, *et seq.*) Again, there is a legendary account of a defeat of the Saxons on the Wye, about that time, and an implication that there was peace for 30 years after, probably from 584 to 613. (*Lib. Landav.* p. 384). These accounts may be harmonized if we assume that the battle at Fethan-leag was indecisive, and that this defeat was the cause why the Saxon leader "returned wrathful to his own." Cæawlin took many towns; a glance at a Romano-British map, shows there were many towns between the Severn and the Usk. Again, if we assume the Saxon chief to have followed the Via Julia Maritima beyond Cardiff, he would have come to LLAN-FEITHIN, the church and parish of Meuthi. Fethan-leag signifies, I believe, the *district* of Fethan, which assuming the identity of Fethan and Feithen or Veithin, would be equivalent to the parish of Llan-Veithin. There is also a church and district called Mathenni, named in the *Liber Landavensis*. Llan-Veithin was a celebrated academy in the sixth century, and is referred to in the Gododin. Compare, also, Mathern in Monmouthshire.

I offer these suggestions with some diffidence: it will be for Dr. Guest and others to determine whether they are of any value.

THOS. STEPHENS.

Oct. 17, 1863.

LOST CHURCHES IN WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Before the present generation of old men and women are removed, it would be as well to obtain from them such information as they may be able to furnish concerning the small churches which once existed in various parts of Wales. The following information I have been enabled to obtain from a resident in the parish of Clocaenog (Mr. Robert Pierce), who at my request kindly undertook to make some inquiries, the result of which I now give you.

John Williams of Glan Llyn, near Clawddnewydd, sixty-eight years of age, and son of a former parish clerk, remembered his father pointing out the ruins of the church to him. The walls were at that time two or three feet above the ground. His father at the same time pointed out a spot near the corner of the present plantation of Cefn Mawr, which he described as a sanctuary for criminals charged with lesser offences, who were free from arrest as long as they remained within the limits. The sanctuary belonged to the old church.

David Roberts of Tyn-y-Coed, Clocaenog, seventy-one years of age, knew the church for some years as standing near Cefn-fynydd. His grandfather and great-grandfather had lived in the neighbourhood, and he had heard them say (for he remembered his great-grandfather) that a small village stood near the church. He also confirmed John Williams's statement about the sanctuary. The mountain is now enclosed, and the walls removed; but the foundations may still be traced.

In Henllan parish, near Denbigh, were formerly four chapels or churches besides the present one, none of which are now standing, and about the sites of which I believe little is known. If any member residing in that district could furnish us with any information on the subject, he would oblige yours very obediently,

AN OLD MEMBER.

Oct. 30, 1863.

CILGERRAN CASTLE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I have read with painful interest, in the last number of the *Arch. Camb.*, Mr. Vincent's account of the damage done to part of Cilgerran Castle by the operations of the slate quarriers. To any one who had witnessed the manner in which those quarries were worked, such an event cannot have caused surprise; but I confess to being astonished that the lessee of the Castle should either have not known of the imminence of the danger, or that he should have allowed the rock to be blasted away so close to the walls.

I recommend our active local Secretary to apply to the Government office of *Land Revenue*, Spring Gardens, London, and inquire there upon what conditions the Castle of Cilgerran, Pembroke, etc., are leased out. I rather think that the commissioners of *Woods and*

Forests would like to be informed about this case; and it is certain that the Hon. W. Howard, who is at the head of the Welsh branch of this Department, will receive such applications and answer questions with the greatest urbanity.

I am, Sir, etc.,

November 6th, 1863.

CAMBRENSIS.

ANCIENT MEASURES OF LAND.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I should be glad of information concerning ancient measures of land known to have been used in Wales, and the equivalent of which may be accurately determined in measures of the present day. Much uncertainty prevails concerning the extent of the "Hide:" Ellis, in his *Introduction to Domesday* making it equal to four virgates of twenty acres each, and Kemble, in his *England under the Saxons*, estimating it at only what one man with a team of two oxen could plough and cultivate in a year, or thirty acres. Light may possibly be thrown upon this by comparing the measures specified in ancient grants, charters, etc., with the dimensions of the same lands as known at the present day.

The subject of ancient Welsh weights and measures has not yet been taken up and worked out as it deserves. If some of our members would collect information about them, each in his own neighbourhood, and print them in the journal of the Association, it would be desirable.

I am, Sir,

Dec. 1, 1863.

AN ANTIQUARY.

EARLY BRETON INCISED SLABS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Important discoveries have been lately made among the remarkable monuments of Lokmariaker in the Morhiban Britany, and indications of further successful researches exist. This remarkable circumstance is, I believe, owing to the successful diligence of a distinguished member of the Irish Bar, and of the Irish Royal Academy, who spent some days this autumn in examining a well-known sepulchral chamber, but which was not known until his discovery to contain any sculptures, except a small figure on the slab at the head of the chamber. He has found that several slabs contained the same curious figures, not unlike in general appearance, though certainly distinct from, those of the well-known chamber of Gafrynys. Excavations in the tumulus opposite the one connected with the dolmen mentioned have been since made,—we believe at his suggestions, and a similar incised slab has already been discovered. An account of this gentleman's discoveries has been laid before the Royal Irish Academy. The remarkable feature in these new discoveries is the frequent repetition of Celts in handles. Accurate representations of all these Breton incised slabs is a desideratum yet to be supplied.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

Dec. 2, 1863.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 79.—**RUTHIN.**—From Symonds' Diary, p. 256, we learn that the old chancel of Ruthin Church was standing in 1645; but of the period of its destruction no record was known to exist. However, in pulling down the old Town Hall in the Market Place, various portions of a Church have been discovered amid the foundation stones, and elsewhere embedded in the walls, the mouldings of which clearly are of the original date of the Church. This building was erected in 1663. The destruction, therefore, of the chancel must be fixed between the two dates. During the troubles of the rebellion this part of the building had probably fallen into ruin, and no doubt furnished the principal materials in building the Town Hall—these being partly limestone and partly sandstone, mixed up together in a very promiscuous manner.

A MEMBER.

Query 133.—**WELSH COINS.**—Is mention made in any Grants or Charters referring to Wales, and dated previously to A.D. 1282, of sums to be paid, and estimated in any given number of coins? If so, what coins are specified: *solidi, libræ, &c.*?

A MEMBER.

Reviews.

MESSEHOWE: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE RUNIC LITERATURE OF SCANDINAVIA, ETC. By J. M. MITCHELL, F.R.S.A., etc. 1 vol. 4to. London, 1863. J. Russell Smith.

ALTHOUGH no Runic inscriptions or monuments have hitherto been discovered in Wales, yet we conceive the subject of this volume to be anything but foreign to our national antiquities. It relates to certain relics, monuments, and traces of those northern rovers who, under the name of "Black Pagans," are often mentioned in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, and who inflicted much suffering on our coasts during their repeated incursions. It refers to memorials of men who made their presence felt among us down probably to the twelfth century; and who, if we mistake not, have left many camps or strongholds upon the headlands of our western and southern coasts. Had our learned friend, the Rev. H. Hay Knight, been alive, we should probably have been favoured with the publication of that learned paper on the Danes, or Northmen, in Glamorganshire, which he read at the Monmouth Meeting; and, out of such a volume as that now before us, he would have culled many an illustration of the results, at which he had independently arrived. As it is, however, we think that members should take notice of works of this nature, specially of the volume in question; and further, that our Association should continue to cultivate amicable intercourse with our learned brethren of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen.

We have said that no Runic inscriptions have hitherto been disco-

vered in Wales; but, after the unexpected occurrence of so many Oghamic inscriptions, and when it is known that Runes exist in the Isle of Man, it is hardly too much to expect that some may be found even on Cambrian soil,—whereon, in fact, traces of Danish inroads may be made out. It is not improbable that in Anglesey, Carnarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Pembrokeshire, and Glamorganshire,—districts recorded to have been formerly ravaged by northern rovers,—stones or chambered mounds such as Mesehowe may yet be discovered, presenting Runic characters, and commemorating the names of piratical visitants: not but that many of the landings attributed to Northmen may very well have been made by the Irish; still, possessing as we do, so many mentions of northern ravages, it is a legitimate subject for Welsh antiquaries to look out for Runic remains.

A most elaborate account of Mesehowe has been already published by Mr. Farrar, at whose expense all the excavations were carried on. This is a work well known to archæologists; and it will be found noticed by the British Archæological Association. Mr. Mitchell does not profess, in his volume, to supersede the labours of his predecessor, but chiefly gives himself to a careful account of the inscriptions and of their contemporary history.

For the information, however, of those members of our Association who may not have had the opportunity of consulting Mr. Farrar's work, it may be well to state that Mesehowe is a chambered mound in Orkney, of great size, in admirable preservation, and bearing inside, on its stones, a considerable number of Runic inscriptions. These, from their nature, seem to have been made by Northmen who from time to time have sheltered themselves, or have even dwelt within the chambers of this mound. The dimensions of this mound will be found recorded in the following passage:

"The height of the mound is 36 feet; the height of the inner building, formed of the large or Cyclopean stones, about 16 feet, and this was covered with flat or large ashlar stones, apparently to the height of about 8 feet more, immediately above the top. This covering of smaller or ashlar stones increased in thickness down to the base of the building, where the thickness appears to be about 20 feet, forming a strong protection against any attack from without; but the strongest proof that the interior was used for the security of its inhabitants, is the ingenious construction of the entrance. In Mr. Farrar's elegant illustrated work on the excavations in Orkney, which has been already referred to, we are informed that the entrance, for the distance of 22½ feet, was only 2 feet 4 inches square, admitting only one person at a time, in a crouching manner; the passage then enlarges to 3½ feet in width, and 4 feet 4 inches in height. At the commencement of this enlarged passage there is a triangular recess in the wall, about 2 feet deep and 3½ feet in height and width; and opposite to it is a stone of equal size to the entrance of the enlarged passage, which could have been pushed into the opening to prevent access. But this is not all. The enlarged passage of 26 feet in length had been formed by four entire blocks on the roof, sides, and floor; and further on becomes narrowed, by two upright slabs of stone, to 2 feet five inches, which slabs are 2 feet 4 inches in breadth. Between these slabs, from their form and position, we may suppose that there was another stone door or defence, the distance thence being 2 feet 10 inches to the main chamber. All these seem to prove that the object of the construc-

tion was to give the inmates the power to keep out intruders by force; because a few within could have, from the smallness or narrowness of the entrance, kept out any number attempting to force their way from without.

"We find that this passage was, from the entrance to the doorway at recess, 31 feet in length; ditto, from recess doorway to inner doorway, 26 feet; inner doorway to central chamber, 5 feet: making the entire length of passage 62 feet. But great additional protection was obtained by the formidable fosse or ditch which surrounded the mound at the distance of about 112 feet from the outer cells, the width of which ditch is 40 feet; and it must have been of considerable depth, and therefore difficult to pass over, at the time it was formed,—even at the present time the depth is from 4 to 8 feet."

It is with much diffidence that we venture to dissent from Mr. Mitchell's opinion as to this mound, and, indeed, as to other similar ones, being intended for defence; and until better informed, we would, judging from the analogy of Irish and Welsh examples, refer such structures to the class of sepulchral memorials,—opened, rifled, desecrated, and at length used for shelter merely. We do not wish in this place to enter into controversy on the subject, especially since the only two chambered mounds hitherto known and proved to be such in Wales, have not yet been surveyed and described with sufficient accuracy. We would rather recommend members to look into the subject for themselves, to read Mr. Farrar's and Mr. Mitchell's books, and to keep their attention directed to future discoveries.

Mr. Mitchell quotes much northern history from Sagas, which throw light upon the predatory expeditions of the Vikings; and the quotations will repay perusal. What chiefly concerns us at the present time, is to direct attention to the inscriptions themselves, which we could have wished to illustrate with some of the author's excellent plates. These, however, being lithographic ones, a difficulty, that we have not been able to surmount, attends the matter.

The inscriptions, then, strike us as being chiefly the "short and simple annals" of seafaring men, bound in Orkney by stress of weather, or wrecked on its shores by storms. They are in good preservation, sufficiently legible, accompanied in two instances by the figure of a dragon and a "serpent-knot" (?), and in most cases extending right across the stones from edge to edge; differing in this respect from the ordinary kind of Oghamic inscriptions. The following are specimens:

"No. II.

THOLFR KOLBÆINSSONE RÆST RUNAR THESAR HAVA.

Tholfr Kolbainsson ríðsdrúsi Þessi Runar (þar) þennu Hafi.

Tholfr Kolbainsson cut these Runes (on) this cave.

"No. III.

BRAN OH THANA.

Strandað hérðr.

Wrecked, and near this.

"No. XIII.

O T O N M I RHTTORB TIS TNIRA NOFROT UNAEF TA EH A SEKRE TAS NAM
TAHT RIÆHTNÆ ETLEH TRÖF LOUB IF RAV SM.

Et billigt Bøttis at Erekes prøvede at finde Torfin hans Broders Huus (eller Sted) man mente at *Þ.* *Þ.* til *Þ.* der var skjult Skat af stor Verdie ved Indgangen.

A willing record that Erekes tried to discover Torfon, his brother's house (or place). It was thought that N.E. by E. there was hidden treasure of great value at the entrance-door.

"No. XIX.

SIA HOUHR VAR FYRLATHIN HÆLAN
THEIR VORO HVATER SLIT VORO
UT NORTHE ER FIFOL HIT MIKEL
THALUR

See Skibet var forladt,
og Skroget ligger der i Brændingerne
mod Nord er gjent Skat og mange
Baler

SIMON SIHBROG,
SIHREITH. INROINSØ.

Simon Sigberg
Sigred. I Roinsø.

Behold the Ship was abandoned, and
the Hull lies there among the breakers.
To the North is hidden treasure, and many Dollars.

Simon Sigberg
Sigred. In Roinsø.

"No. XX.

LOTHBROG ARSYNAR HÆNAR
MÆN SÆM-THÆIR VORO FYRASIR
IORSALA FARAR BRUTU ORKOU HLIF MIT SAILIAIARIS
LOFOIR HIR VAR FIFOL HÆT MIKIL RÆIST
SÆLER SAIR FINA MATHA A THOGUSTH HIN MIKLA
OKONAKN BAR FYRAB HITH IS W. I. N.

Lothbrog Arsynar omhyggelige

Mænd som have udnævnte til bore Forere.
Jerusalems farere som strandede paa Orkøw Klipper i Taage
ved Forsømmelse. Her var skjult Skatter, mange Kjeder, ridsst
Solb, fine Ornamenteer, og meget Probiant.
Gjemme-Stedet ligger herfra mod *W.* til *Þ.*

Lothborg Arsynar (they are) careful
Men who were appointed our commanders.
Jerusalem leaders wrecked on the Orkney cliffs
In a mist slothfully.
Here was hidden treasure: many chains,
Cut silver, fine ornaments, and much fine stores.
The hidden place lies out from this W. by N.

"No. XXIV.

BAKITI UKR EIGT A IIII.

Flørk taaet Vitr, Skibet arbejder haardt....
Dark, misty Weather. Ship labouring hard....."

In commenting upon them Mr. Mitchell observes :

"In these inscriptions we find the following array of names : Thatir, Tholfr Kolbinsson Wimunt, Orkalsun Thaimr, Skilts Irmair, Ingebjirg, Thor, Helkes, Thorer, Arthur, Totar Finla, Erekes, Torfinn, Harmunt, Minton, Arnfithr, Nilssen Sarmans, Simon Sigberg, Sigfreth, Lothbrog, Arsynar, Thrunck Wit, Dalk,—twenty-seven individuals who have been commemorated or referred to.

"The greatest number of these names are Scandinavian, others are evidently Teutonic, and some are probably Scottish or British."

"When we find that the inscriptions mention the localities where the

treasures were lost or concealed, we might be induced to question the propriety of giving such publicity to their positions ; but it must be remembered that it is probable that only one or two of the best educated in each ship could write or read the Runic, and that there was a union of purpose in all such matters among the educated class of the vikings.

"It is evident, from some of the inscriptions, that when the most of these were written, the vikings were still in a state of darkness as to religion ; and it is more than likely—nay, it is self-evident—that the wild habits of robbery and rapine which they pursued, could only be followed by those who were still in a state of heathenism."

The book, which is well and carefully printed, is illustrated with ten plates, one of them (the frontispiece) shewing silver ornaments, rings, etc., found in Orkney ; and a body of notes is appended with a vocabulary of doubtful and difficult words,—all highly creditable to the taste and diligence of the learned author.

THE PHARAOH OF THE EXODUS. By D. W. NASH. 1 vol. 8vo.
London : 1863. J. Russell Smith.

ALTHOUGH Egyptian antiquities are not immediately connected with Welsh ones, yet there are some indirect analogies between them which ought not to be altogether neglected. For instance, we think that the question of early chambered mounds, of meini hirion, of tumuli, even of earth-banked stone-surrounded circles, may receive elucidation from researches connected with early monuments, whether in Lower or Upper Egypt, or even in Nubia and Abyssinia—in other words, that the early remains of the Coptic and Celtic tribes, though of apparently different families of mankind, may tend to illustrate each other. So, too, of their modes of interment and treatment of bodies : possibly too of their early arts and handiwork ; and we are quite prepared to have new light, if only by way of comparison, thrown on our own remains in proportion as those of the interior of Africa come to be better explored and known. Our bronze weapons, and implements of the chase, our early rings, etc., may all find either counterparts (as, indeed, the latter class of articles has long since done) or even prototypes in Africa,—perhaps on the banks of the Nile. Welsh antiquaries, while avoiding the errors of their theorizing predecessors, will do well to keep their attention awake to the subject, and in the present instance not set down a book as foreign to their course of study merely because it treats of early Egyptian History, and of the building of the Pyramids.

We have the less hesitation in reviewing this work, because its author is so well known in our Association as having already published one of the most valuable and interesting works on Welsh literary antiquities that have hitherto appeared. We allude to his *Talesin*, reviewed at some length in our pages several years ago. Mr. Nash performed the essential service of sifting the claims of early Welsh poems in a masterly manner : he applied to the question the processes of acute criticism : he reduced to proper dimensions the age and reputation of many a Bardic poem ; he traced the origin of others to unsuspected sources ; and he brought the whole subject within the limits of literary and historical probability. One especial benefit conferred

by him on the cause of Welsh historical literature was the signalization of that spirit of fraud and, we had almost said, of forgery, which existed at the end of the last century and the beginning of the present. He did not, it is true, pursue the subject far enough; but we hope that either Mr. Nash, or some other Celtic scholar, will take it up again and pursue it.

The author of the *Pharaoh of the Exodus*, while he does not exactly adopt all the arguments of the late Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, in his *Astronomy of the Ancients*, as to the supposed dates of Egyptian History and Egyptian Monuments, stands broadly on the ground that the extreme antiquity maintained by Bunsen, Lepsius, and the school of modern Egyptologists, is not capable of proof, and is even contrary to fair historical analysis. The larger portion of his work is occupied by a laborious discussion of Egyptian Chronology divided into four chapters, on the *Materials of Egyptian Chronology*; the *Chronological systems founded on the Egyptian Chronicle*; the *Historical and Astronomical Synchronisms*; and on *The Hyksos period* and the *Shepherd Kings of Egypt*. The last of these four chapters will prove the most interesting to the general reader; in it the author gives the opinions of all the most eminent writers on the subject; prefacing his inquiry with the statement, derived from the first three chapters, that "no system of Egyptian Chronology yet proposed is to be relied on;" but not giving his own opinion till the end of his fifth chapter, which treats of *The Egyptian Traditions of the Exodus*. He accepts the correctness of the Mosaic narration of the events; discusses all the collateral sources of information with great diligence; and then winds up his researches thus:—

"We are bound to conclude from the whole tenor of these family histories that the descent of Solomon from Judah was a matter perfectly capable of being ascertained, and that the writer of the Book of Kings, even if as late as the time of Ezra, had some better ground for his calculation that 480 years had elapsed between Solomon and the Exodus, than a mere arbitrary assumption of twelve generations of forty years each, which he must have known, in the case of the descent of the most venerated of the Hebrew monarchs, was an error patent on the face of all the historical documents, and which could not possibly have escaped detection.

"91. We observe also, that as far as can be gathered from the history contained in the Book of Judges, the measure of the period between the Exodus and Solomon must be estimated at more than 400 years; that the probable measure ranges between 440 and 480 years; the time allotted by the Hebrew text and the LXX. respectively. It seems very probable that the real number lay between these two; that the one authority has increased, and the other diminished the number, in order to convert it into the ordinary multiple of 40.

"If, then, we take the mean of the two numbers given by the Hebrew text of the 1 Kings and the LXX, that is, 460 years, and count back from the year of the Foundation of the Temple, B.C. 989, we arrive at the year B.C. 1444, for the date of the Hebrew Exodus.

"92. Now, it has been shown that the expulsion of the Shepherds as related by Manetho took place under the reign of Thothmes III, and that in accordance with the evidence afforded by the inscription on the Calendar fragment of Elephantine, this event must have taken place between the

years B.C. 1445 and 1431. This calculation of the date of the Shepherd Exodus is based on Egyptian evidence only, having no reference to the Hebrew narrative, or to any numbers contained in the Old Testament.

"The calculation which places the Hebrew Exodus at about the year B.C. 1444, is based entirely on Hebrew evidence, without reference to the Egyptian traditions, or the history of the Hyksos.

"Two perfectly distinct and independent chains of evidence, widely separated at one extremity, meet in a point—the migration of a foreign people from Egypt about the year B.C. 1445.

"THE EGYPTIAN EVIDENCE demonstrates an Exodus at that epoch, of a Shepherd people of foreign origin, who had been located in the Delta, and in, or in the neighbourhood of the city of Tanis or Zoan. This people, on departing from Egypt with all their cattle and possessions, settled in Palestine and built the city of Jerusalem.

"THE HEBREW EVIDENCE demonstrates the Exodus from Egypt at the same epoch, of the children of Israel, a shepherd people of foreign origin, located in the Delta, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Tanis, or 'the field of Zoan,' who, with all their cattle and possessions, departed from Egypt, and finally settled in Palestine, and built the city of Jerusalem.

"93. It is impossible to doubt that these are one and the same event, the remembrance of which has been preserved alike in Egyptian and in Hebrew tradition, and that the expulsion of the Hyksos related by Manetho, is the Egyptian history of the Exodus of the Hebrews, related by the writer of the Book of Exodus, and that the true date of this event is about B.C. 1445."

Our space, and the nature of the researches carried on by our Association, necessarily preclude us from going into any lengthened detail of Mr. Nash's reasonings: much more from any discussion of them by ourselves. It is sufficient for our purpose to point out to readers where so much valuable historical controversy may be found. In the same manner we must refrain from doing more with regard to the last chapter in the book, on *The date of the Builder of the Great Pyramid*, than saying that the author does not come to any more positive conclusion of his own than what may be gathered from the following passage:—

"41. If the epoch of the Great Pyramid may with truth be ascribed to the twenty-fourth century before the Christian æra, we find that it is about a century later than this epoch, that the commencement of the great Chaldean empire, which was the first paramount power in western Asia, has been fixed by the latest researches. 'About the year B.C. 2234, the Cushite inhabitants of Southern Babylonia, who were of cognate race with the primitive colonists both of Arabia and the African Ethiopia, may be supposed to have first risen into importance. All the traditions of Babylonia and Assyria point to a connection in very early times between Ethiopia, southern Arabia, and the cities on the Lower Euphrates. In the Biblical genealogies, Cush and Mizraim were brothers, while from the former sprang Nimrod, the eponym of the Chaldean races. The names, indeed, of the other sons of Cush seem to mark the line of colonization along the southern and eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula, from the Red Sea to the mouth of the Euphrates.' It may be that it is to these Ethiopæan Hamites, the sons of Cush, the Mesopotamian tribes, of whom not long after the epoch of the building of the Great Pyramid, shook off the yoke of the Zoroastrian Medes and established a Chaldean dynasty on the Lower Euphrates, that we are to look for the origin of those great sovereigns and conquerors of Lower Egypt, the early

Pyramid-building dynasties, whose power was supplanted upon the borders of the Nile by the native Theban race of Upper Egypt. If, as Professor Rawlinson suggests, the Ethiopian Meroe was the original seat of these Babylonian Cushites, whose deified hero, worshipped under the names of Nergal and Nimroud as the god of hunting and of war, had the earlier and true Cushite appellation of Mirikh, the vernacular name of Meroe, and that still given by the Arabs to the planet Mars; we may imagine that the ancient tradition of Menes and his Thinite race descending from Upper Egypt to found the city of Memphis and take possession of the Delta of the Nile, may have an obscure reference to the foundation of an empire in Lower Egypt, by a race who added to the local animal worship of the ancient tribes of the Nile valley, the planetary mythology and the adoration of the celestial hosts.

"But we obtain from the Egyptian monuments no distinct evidence as to this fusion of mythologic opinions, nor can we trace the point in time when the Isis-Osiris myth was superadded to the animal worship of the African Egyptian tribes; on the contrary, the monumental evidence at the highest point to which it reaches, demonstrates that the fusion of these mythologies had already been effected in times which at present remain beyond the domain of history."

The last pages give a fair summary of the main points ascertained by Mr. Nash. We quote them textually, and recommend this learned work for careful perusal.

"The only hope of a further knowledge of this remote period of the Pyramid-building kings, lies in the discovery of the written legendary history of Egypt, of an age anterior to the corruption of the stream of Egyptian thought by the influx of Greek ideas; legends which may now lie hidden in the untranslated papyri preserved in European museums.

"43. In the meantime we may venture to assert that the discovery of the true Egyptian chronological method, which is the principal result of the foregoing investigation of Egyptian chronology, viz. the ancient Egyptian practice of placing the æra of Menes and the commencement of Egyptian history at the commencement of a Sothic cycle, renders necessary the reconstruction of those modern systems of Egyptian chronology which are founded on the opinion that the æra of Menes is a true starting-point for Egyptian chronology.

"44. The reduction of the Hyksos period of Manetho from a doubtful and unhistorical period of unknown duration, to a measure of two and a half centuries, filled up by the names of historical kings, connects the history of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty with that of the Sesortasides, in a more clear and satisfactory manner than has hitherto been possible; while the history of the intervening period, on the supposition that the Shepherd kings were not a race of foreign conquerors of disputed origin, but a dynasty of native Egyptians, is relieved of a multitude of difficulties which have stood in the way of a reasonable explanation of the history of this obscure period.

"45. The identification of the Shepherd people expelled from Egypt by Thothmes III, with the children of Israel, though by no means new, has been facilitated by the disentanglement of the Hyksos traditions of Manetho and the separation of the conquest of Avaris by Aahmes from the expulsion of the Shepherds by Thothmes III; while the fact that the Hebrew Exodus took place in the reign of this monarch, may now, it is hoped, be considered definitively established."

Archæologia Cambrensis.

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ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PARISH REGISTERS OF PRESTEIGN.

(Read at Kington.)

THE keeping of registers of births, deaths, and marriages, was enjoined, as is well known, by Cromwell, Henry the Eighth's minister, as early as 1538; but they were not kept in country parishes until the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; and it is rarely that they are met with in so complete a state, or from so early a period, as in the case of the registers of Presteign. Old parish registers can scarcely ever fail, however remote and generally unknown the parish may be, to yield some matters of interest to the antiquary, although the subjects must necessarily be modern compared with the topics usually discussed at these meetings. I shall confine the present attempt at the illustration of the parish registers of Presteign to two points,—the plague or pestilence, and the movements of Charles I during the civil war.

The pestilence ravaged Presteign at least at three periods subsequent to the commencement of the registers, namely in the years 1593, 1610, and 1636-1637. A modern writer has well observed,—“The terms ‘pest,’ ‘pestilence,’ and ‘plague,’ were long employed in Great Britain, as were the corresponding terms in other languages, both in ancient and modern times, to denote simply a disease attacking a great number of persons

simultaneously and in succession, and destroying a large proportion of those whom it attacked: in short, a widely diffused and malignant epidemic. At the present day these terms are restricted to signify a particular form of disease of frequent occurrence in the countries bordering on the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the Archipelago, but occasionally appearing also in countries more or less remote from those regions."¹

So uncertain is the evidence as to the precise character of these epidemics, that before a committee of the House of Commons, in 1819, many witnesses expressed a strong opinion that the plague in London, of 1665, was really not that disease, although the better opinion seems to be that it was. Of the nature of the disease which prevailed at Presteign in the above years (1593, 1610, and 1636-7), we are necessarily in the dark. Some one who has examined the registers, apparently in the seventeenth century, has simply noted the above as "*anni pestiferi et lethales*." Although we have no direct evidence, in the registers, of pestilence before 1593, we have a record of Presteign being subject, in 1551 (ten years before the earliest entries in the Register) to the pestilence known as "the sweating sickness."

Dr. Caius, who lived in the sixteenth century, and of whom Sir Henry Ellis speaks² as "one of the most learned and most rational physicians of his day," wrote two treatises upon this disorder,—one in Latin and the other in English; and he gives the following account of the progress of the disorder through the country in 1551:

"The fifth [sixth] time of this fearful ephamera is this: in the year MDLI of oure Lorde, and the fifth yeare of oure soveraigne Edwarde the Sixthe, beginning at Shrewesbury the middist of April, proceeding with greatest mortalitie to Ludlowe, *Prestene*, and other places in Wales; then to West Chester, Coventre, Oxenforde, and townes in the southe, and such as were in and about the way to London, whither it came notablie the seventh of July, and there continuing sore with the losse of CLXI from the IX day until the XVI day. From that it abated until the

¹ Encycl. Brit. 8th ed. I—N—T.

² Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, vol i, p. 296.

xxx day of the same, with the loss of CLXII more. Then ceasing there, it went from thence through all the eastern parts of Englande into the northe, until the end of Auguste, at which tyme it diminished, and at the end of Septembre it fully ceased."¹

This disease was called by the learned and foreigners "sudor Britannicus," and by the common people of the country "the sweat," or "new acquaintance." It is an odd circumstance that the cholera, on its first appearance, was nicknamed by the country people "the new delight."

The sweating sickness made its first appearance in England in 1483, in the army of Henry VII, after his landing at Milford Haven. It appeared again, raging chiefly in the summer, in 1485, in 1506, in 1517, in 1528, and, according to Sir Henry Ellis, for the last time in 1551. In 1517 it was so violent as sometimes to prove fatal in three hours. It more commonly killed those who were seized with it in seven or eight hours. Those who survived twenty-four hours generally recovered. The symptoms are described as alarming from the first moment,—such as burning heat, excessive sickness, headache, delirium, unquenchable thirst, vehement pulse, and labouring breath. Old people, children, and the poor, were least subject to its attacks. The state of unfortunate patients suffering from the particular symptom which gave its name to the disease, may be imagined from the following anecdote related in the "merrie tales of Skelton," poet laureate to Henry VIII. It is entitled "How Skelton drest the Kendal Man in the Sweat Time":

"On a time Skelton rode from Oxford to London with a Kendal man, and at Uxbridge they baited. The Kendal man laid his cap upon the board in the hall, and he went to serve his horse. Skelton took the Kendal man's cap, and put betwixt the lining of it and the utter [outer] side a dish of butter; and when the Kendal man had drest his horse, he did come in to dinner, and did put on his cap (that time the sweating sickness

¹ See the English Treatise. 12mo. London, 1552.

was in all England). At the last, when the butter had take heate of the Kendal man's head, it did begin to run over his face and about his cheeks. Skelton said, 'Sir, you sweat sore; beware that you have not the sweating sickness.' The Kendal man sayd, 'By the mass Ise wrang! I bus goe tyll bed.' Skelton said, 'I am skilled in physick, and specially in the sweating sickness, that I will warrant any man.' 'In good faith,' said the Kendal man, 'do see, and I'll pay for your shott to London.' Then did Skelton get a kerchief, and said, 'I will bring you a bed,' which was done. Skelton caused the cap to be sod in hot lee, and dried it. In the morning they rode merrily to London." (*Skelton's Works*, by Dyce, vol. i, p. 57.)

Returning to the parish Registers, I proceed to notice the extent of the suffering of the inhabitants from the plague or pestilence in 1593, which we are enabled to ascertain in consequence of the letter "p" being placed opposite to the name. The disease broke out in the month of May in that year. Johan, wife of Lewis ap who was buried on the 10th of May, was the first victim. The infectious character of the disease is evidenced by the next entries of deaths from it. Richard, the son of John Tozer (?), was buried on the 16th; and on the following day, Catherine, another child of the same person. On the 18th, Johan, the wife of David ap Morys, was buried; and on June 1st, Daniel ap Morys. The total number of burials in May was eight, four of them victims of the pestilence. In June the total was twenty-two, of which fourteen have the fatal "p" affixed to their names. The disease now made fearful progress, evidently with the hotter weather. The burials in July were a hundred and fifteen, of which a hundred and fourteen are attributed to the pestilence. So rapid was the increase, that from the middle of July the Register gives merely the name of the person buried, omitting the name of the husband in the case of a wife, and of the father in that of a child. In August the mortality rose still higher. Of a hundred and forty-nine burials, all but one were of persons who died from the pestilence. The greatest number buried in one day, in August, was ten; on July 21st, the number was twelve. With the

cooler weather of September the deaths decreased to fifty, of which all but one were from pestilence. In October the deaths were eleven, all from the pestilence; in November four, all of the pestilence; in December six, four of the pestilence; in January 1594, three burials, neither having the "p" affixed; in February six, two of the pestilence, being the last on this occasion.

To form a correct notion of the effect of this destruction of life on the general population of the place, it is of course essential to ascertain the ordinary rate of mortality about the same time. If the entries are to be depended on, the mortality fluctuated very considerably; indicating probably the occasional occurrence of pestilence or other epidemics, although not so denoted by the entries. The total number of burials in 1561, the first year of the Registers (and within ten years of the outbreak of the sweating sickness at Presteign of 1551, as recorded by Dr. Caius), was twenty-one; in 1563, twenty; in 1565, forty-seven. The entries for 1567-8 are lost; but in 1569 we find seventy burials; and in 1570, fifty; in 1571, forty-two; and in 1572, thirty-seven. For the next seven years the entries are lost or imperfect. In 1579 the burials were forty-eight; in 1580, seventy-seven; in 1581, forty-one; in 1582, thirty; in 1583, thirty; in 1584, twenty-seven; in 1585, fifty-five; in 1586, seventy-five; in 1587, a hundred and forty-seven; in 1588, forty-seven; in 1589, forty-eight; in 1590, fifty-three. In each of the two years immediately preceding the pestilence of 1593, the burials were thirty-eight. The total number of burials in 1593 was three hundred and eighty-three, of which three hundred and fifty-two were of the pestilence; while in the two subsequent years of 1594 and 1595 the burials were thirty-nine and forty-seven respectively.

Another perhaps more interesting question generally connected with these investigations, is, what proportion did the population of Presteign, in the sixteenth century, bear to its present population? For by ascertaining the facts in particular places, we get the data for more

accurately determining the population on the Welsh border in past and present times. Failing this, we cannot ascertain what proportion of the inhabitants became affected with plague. The statistics of other places furnish details shewing that fully fifty per cent. of those who sickened died.

There are many reasons for supposing Presteign to have been a larger town in the sixteenth century than it is at present. Leland speaks of it as "a good market town."¹ He tells us: "Preesteene was but a Welsh village about Henry the Fourth's time, until Richard Martin, Bishop of St. David's and Chancellor of the Marches, got priviledge for it, and made it a market towne, that now is very celebrate for corne." Camden, to the same effect, writing some fifty years later, says: "Scarce three miles to the east of Radnor lies Presteign, in British Llanandras (or St. Andrews), which, from a small village in the memory of our grandfathers, did by the favour and encouragement of Martin, Lord Bishop of St. David's, become so eminent and beautiful a market town as in some measure to eclipse Radnor."

Besides the trade in corn, tradition records the fact that a manufactory of woollen cloth was carried on at Presteign. Traces of buildings extending on both sides of the river Lug may still be seen;² and there is no doubt that John Beddoes, the founder of Presteign Grammar School in 1568, was a clothier carrying on business there. Still the omission of Leland and Camden to allude to the trade is strong evidence that the town was not dependent on the manufacture for its prosperity. Perhaps the most remarkable evidence of the comparative importance of Presteign as a town in the sixteenth century, is to be found in the Statute Book. The statute 35 Hen. VIII, c. 4, entitled,—“An acte touchinge the repayringe and amendinge of cer-

¹ Itin. v, f. 3.

² See also Williams's "History of Radnorshire" in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

taine decayde houses and tenements as well in England as in Wales," recites that—

"Forasmuch as in tymes past diverse and many beautifulle houses of habitation have been within the walles and liberties of the towne of Shrowsberie in the county of Salop, the cittie of Chester in the countie of Chester, the towne of Ludlowe in the countie of Salop, Haverfordweste in the countie of Haverfordwest in South Wales, the towne of Pembroke, Tenbie in the countie Pembroke, the towne of Karmardyne in the countie of Karmardyne, the towne of Montgomerie in the countie of Montgomerie, Cardiffe, Swansea, Cowbrig, Newe Radnor, and *Prestend* in the countie of Radnor; and the towne of Brecknocke in the countie of Brecknocke, the towne of Maldon in the countie of Essex, the townes of Uske, Abergavenny, Carlyone, and Newport, in the countie of Monmouth; and the townes of Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepole, and Wygan, in the countie palatyne of Lancaster; which now are fallen down and decayed, and at this time remain unreedified, lyinge as desolate and voide groundes, and many of them adjoininge nighe unto the highe streetes, replenished with mucche odor, filthe, and uncleanes, with the pytts, sellars, and vawtes lyinge open and uncovered, to the great perill and danger of all the inhabitants and other the king's subjects passage by the same; and some houses be verie weke and feeble, redy to fall down, and be verie dangerouse to passe by, to the decaye and hindrance of the said citties and borough townes."

The statute then requires the owners or possessors of void grounds on which houses had been built within forty-five years, or of houses fallen into decay, to rebuild within two years after proclamation made, on the ground; and in default, the chief lord, or immediate lords, of whom the grounds were holden, were to enter and repair within a certain time; and in default, persons having rent-charges were to do the same; and in their default, the mayor, aldermen, or burgesses, or other head officers of the city; and in their default, the first owners or possessors were empowered to reenter and possess.

Although the first impression on reading this recital in the statute, is that the towns mentioned had fallen into decay, probably the more correct mode of treating

the statute is to regard it in much the same light as a modern "Towns Improvement Act." To read it otherwise, would, so far as relates to Presteign, place the allegation in the statute and the statement of Leland (who wrote about the same time) in conflict. Still it is possible that one result of good Bishop Martin's patronage of the town may have been the not uncommon one in the present day, of over-building. The various subsequent fortunes of the other towns referred to,—the rapid rise of the Lancashire towns on the one hand, and the all but non-existence, up to the present day, of Montgomery, Caerleon, and New Radnor, as towns, teach us how little dependent on the statute book, districts are for their prosperity. The association of Presteign with Liverpool ("Lyrepole") will excite a smile.

In the correspondence of Roland Lee, who was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1534 (after having officiated at the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne Boleyn), and who was in the following year made President of the Marches, there is a reference to Presteign not altogether flattering. Writing to Cromwell from Ludlow, he says,—“I have been into Wales, at Prestayne, where I was right heartilie welcomed with all the honest in that parte, as Sir James Baskerville and many other, without any speares or other fashion as heretofore hath been used, as at large this bearer shall enforme you; which journey was thought muche dangerouse to some; but God willing, I entend after Easter one moneth at Presteyne, even among the thickest of the thieves, to do my master such service as the strongest of them all shall be affrayed to do as to fore God willing.”¹

A judge in the present day might, writing to the Lord Chancellor, also speak of being received by the sheriff without spears or javelins as heretofore (recent legislation, as is known, allowing the unarmed, blue-coated police constables to be substituted for javelin-men); but, unlike Lee, the judge could add that his services were

¹ Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd Series, Letter cclii.

not required at Presteign, and that in token of that fact he received from the sheriff a pair of white gloves.¹

Returning from this digression, one other test of the prosperity of Presteign a century later may be referred to. In 1636 the sum required to be supplied by the "town of Prestinge" for "ship money" was £28; while the whole borough and liberty of New Radnor, comprising a considerable area, was to furnish only £6. The sum assessed in this and the following years appears to have been fully collected in Radnorshire, which was not the case in many other places.²

I have only a few particulars to give of the plague in 1610 and 1636-7. Whether the disease at these periods was or was not of the precise character of the eastern plague, there is no doubt that it was termed "plague," for it is so called in the Statute Book and elsewhere. The total number of burials at Presteign in the year 1610, was a hundred and sixty-one; but no distinction is made between those who died of the plague, and of other diseases; and the only direct statement that it was the plague, is the entry before referred to in the leaf of the Register, "anni pestiferi et lethales 1593, 1636, 1637, 1610." The burials in 1608 were thirty-six; in 1609, fifty-two; in 1610, as we have seen, a hundred and sixty-one. In 1636 and 1637 we have more precise evidence than is furnished in 1610, namely the letter "p" affixed to the entries.

Although the significant letter "p" is not affixed until June in 1636, it is more than probable, from the increased rate of mortality, that the disease had broken out earlier in that year, and probably in the previous year. The total number of burials in 1634 was thirty-nine, while in 1635 they increased to sixty-two. The total number of deaths by plague in 1636 was a hundred and forty-six, leaving seventy-four deaths apparently from other causes; but, as already observed, a part of that number was probably of the severe epidemic. In

¹ At the assizes in July last there was neither prisoner nor cause.

² See Rushworth, 2nd edition, vol. ii, p. 343, etc.

1637, fifty-seven deaths are recorded by plague, being twenty-eight for other causes.

The removal of the market from the town, and the provision made for the support of the infected persons, are mentioned in Williams's "*History of Radnorshire*," published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and therefore need not be farther adverted to.

Whether plague, in its frequent visitations, was always imported from the East; or whether, as seems not improbable, it was generated in this country by the neglect of ventilation in the houses even of those belonging to the more opulent classes, and the total ignorance and consequent neglect of all sanitary requirements,—the question is an interesting one; but this is not the place to discuss it. The information we obtain from these parish Registers is very scanty; but it is all we can now gain, so we must be thankful for even the brief but significant "p" prefixed to the instances of death by plague. It is useful to search these "short and simple annals," the parish Registers,—

———"where to be born and die
Of rich and poor makes all the history."

I proceed to the other subject selected for the illustration of the parish Registers of Presteign. On a leaf of the second volume of the Register, the names of several children of Nicholas Taylor are inserted as having been baptized during the Commonwealth, the following statement by Mr. Taylor being prefixed to the entries: "There was noe lawful minister setled in our parish, therefore I was constrained in those bad times for those gentlemen to baptize my children; therefore I cause this to be registered, being May the 15th, 1672, as followeth." After the names, Mr. Philip Lewis, to whom the living of Presteign was given on the Restoration, wrote,—"Thus registered, according to the directions of Nicholas Taylor, senior, Esq. Wit., Phil. Lewis, Rector of Presteign." To this entry Mr. William Whalley, the rector of the parish at the end of the last

century, affixed the following note: "*N.B.*—Nicholas Taylor, Esq., lived at the Lower Heath, the house now inhabited by Mr. Wm. Powell. When King Charles fled before Cromwell, then in the neighbourhood of Hereford, he dined and slept at the Unicorn Inn, in Leominster, the first day; and the next two nights he slept at Mr. Nicholas Taylor's at the Lower Heath; from thence he rode over the hills to Newtown, and so to Chester.—W. W. R., 1793."¹ A room is still shewn at the Lower Heath, which tradition points out as the place of the king's "concealment"; and a spot called "the King's Turning," near Corton turnpike, is also traditionally associated with the king's visit. The precise form of the tradition, as it existed at the commencement of the present century, is thus given in Williams' "*History of Radnorshire*," in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. Speaking of the spot called "the King's Turning," the author says,—“This is called ‘the king's turning,’ by which is meant the turning out or departing from the straight road by King Charles I. In the time of the Great Rebellion, after the fatal loss of the battle of Naseby in the year 1645, the royal cause declined rapidly. The king had come into the marches of Wales for the purpose of recruiting his army among the loyal inhabitants. He was closely pursued by his enemies, yet safely conducted by Sir David Williams of Gwernyfed to Radnor, where he slept one night. The following morning he marched to Hereford; and on the succeeding day came from thence, through Leominster and Weobley, to the neighbourhood of Presteign, and slept two successive nights at the Lower Heath in this parish, in a house belonging to Nicholas Taylor, Esq. Having by this halt sufficiently eluded his pursuers, he resumed his march, and ‘turned’ or changed the line of his route by riding from thence over the hills to Norton, Knighton, Newtown, and Chester.”

I purpose inquiring how far the statement of Charles

¹ An inaccurate copy of this note is given in Carlisle's *Topographical Dict.*, 1811.

having slept two nights at the Lower Heath is confirmed or is inconsistent with the king's movements as ascertained from other sources. There is no doubt that the period of the visit must have been August or September 1645. After the battle of Naseby the king went by Lichfield and Bewdley to Hereford, and thence to Raglan and on to South Wales. On the night of Tuesday the 5th of August 1645 the king slept at Brecknock. The *Iter Carolinum* thus gives the subsequent movements:

	Night.	Miles.
" Wednesday the 6th, to Gwernefyd, Sir Henry Williams. Dinner to Old Radnor. Supper a yeoman's house. The Court dispersed . . .	i	xviii
" Thursday the 7th to Ludlow Castle. No dinner. Colonel Woodhouse . . .	i	xiv
" Friday, the great fast, the 8th, to Bridgnorth, Sir Lewis Kirke's, the Governor . . .	i	xiv
" Sunday the 10th, dinner near Wolverhampton in campis. At Lichfield supper at the Governor's in the Close . . .	ii	xxii."

Although by this route the king would pass through or very near Presteign, it is evident that this cannot be the occasion referred to in the entry in the Register, and that the traditional account given in the "History of Radnordshire" is inaccurate. If the account given in the *Iter* needed corroboration, it receives it from other sources, making the necessary allowance for the difference of a day or two between the movements of the king's forces and of the monarch himself. In *The Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer*, sent abroad to prevent misinformation, there is this statement,—“Monday last (4th August), the king's army in the Welsh parts, being about 4000, moved out of Brecknockshire towards Presteign in Radnordshire, and so for Ludlow, giving out that they intended for the north. They were commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Wm. Blackstone.”

A correspondent of "*The Weekly Account*," who signs himself "J. H.," and writes evidently from the neighbourhood of Wigmore, in a letter dated August 13, 1645, gives the following particulars of the proceedings of the army between Presteign and Ludlow :

"Since my last I and my neighbours have been much terrified by the king's forces, of which we heard little news until they came to demand quarters; and to tell you the truth we thought we had been secure while the Scots army had besieged Hereford; but on Wednesday last a party of the king's (or rather that army he hath), which was about 3000 horse and dragoons, came over by Presham (Presteign) to Wigmore, and that night took up their quarters amongst us. Some of them went to Brompton Regon (the ruined seat of Sir Robert Harley); but the most to Wigmore, which is three miles distant. Sir Marmaduke Langdale quartered at Mr. Corkeram's at the Grange. The king is reported to be there also, and we believe it to be true; yet in his passage out, it kept very secretly. We understand they came this way to avoid the Scots army, of which they were much afraid; and although their stay here was not above eight or ten hours, they kept very diligent watches, and sent out a party of horse towards Aymestry and Kingsland, which brought them an alarm in the morning; upon which about a hundred were left behind to discover what would come of it, and the rest marched away through Laynterdin and so to Bridgnorth. Having given you thus far an account of their coming into these parts, and likewise of their departure, I shall only add a word or two of their demeanour during the short time they stayed here. There were one hundred quartered at Mr. Corkeram's house; and notwithstanding his complacency both before and now, in the morning they killed of his milch kine and all his sheep they could light of; and after they had drank out all the beer and ale that was in a poor man's house a dying, they plundered him of all his goods, saying that his next landlord was a captain in their late design against Hereford. The like they did to John Clarke of Laynterdin, and divers others of your acquaintance. They also took three horses from Mr. Higgins of Tripton.

"Sir, I am your servant, J. H."

Sir Henry Slingsby, in his *Diary*, gives an account of the king's sojourn at Old Radnor:

"In our quarters we had little accommodation; but in Old Radnor, where the king lay in a poor, low chamber, and my Lord of Lindsay and others by the kitching fire, on hay. No better were we accommodated with victuals, which makes me remember this passage: When the king was at his supper, eating a pullet and a piece of cheese, *the room without was full, but the men's stomachs empty for want of meat.* The good wife, troubled with continual calling upon her for victuals, and hav-

ing it seems but that one cheese, comes into the room where the king was, and very soberly asks if the king had done with the cheese, for the gentlemen without desired it. But the best was, we never tarry'd long in any place, and therefore might the more willingly endure one night's hardship in hopes the next might be better."

From the context it might be at first sight supposed that Sir H. Slingsby placed this visit to Old Radnor a month later; but a close examination shews that that is not necessarily the case, and there is no ground for supposing that the king was twice at Old Radnor.

On the 28th of August the king arrived at Oxford, but remained there only one whole day. He again proceeded by way of Worcester to Hereford, which was still besieged by the Scottish army. The *Iter Carolinum* gives the following "List of His Majesty's marches from Oxford on Saturday the 30th of August 1645":

	Nights.	Miles.
"Saturday 30 to Moreton in the Marsh, White House	i	xxiv
"Sunday the last, no dinner. Supper at Worcester.		
A very cruel day	iii	xx
"September 1645. Wednesday the 3rd, to Bramyard, Mistris Baynham's	i	x
"Thursday the 4th, to Hereford. Dinner, Bishop's Pallace	i	x
"Friday 5th, to Lempster; dinner at the Unicorn. To Weobley; supper, the Unicorn	i	xiv
"Saturday the 6th, to Hereford. Dinner, Bishop's Pallace	i	vii
"Sunday 7th, Raglan Castle; supper. Monday the 8th to Abergain; dinner. Ragland, supper.		
Thursday 11th, to Raglan, supper. Abergavenny, dinner, 14	vii	xlvi
"Sunday 14th, to Monmouth; dinner, the Governor's. Hereford, supper. Monday 15th, we marched half way to Bramyard; but there was <i>leo in itinere</i> , and so back to Hereford again	iii	x
"Wednesday the 17, the rendezvous was at Athelstone; there dined. Ten miles to Hamlacy, Lord Scudamore's	i	xxvi
"Thursday 18, to a rendezvous five miles from Hamlacy, with intention for Worcester. Poins and Rocester in the waye, whereupon we remarched		

	Nights.	Miles.
towards Hereford and to Lampster, then to Weobley, thence to <i>Prestine</i> , there halted at Maister Andrews. This march lasted from 6 in the morning until midnight	i	xxviii
“ Friday 19th, to Newtown, Mr. Price. A long march over the mountains	ii	xiv
“ Sunday 21, to Llanwillin; supper. Dinner, Mr. Price	i	xx
“ Monday 22, to Chirke Castle, Sir John Watts, the Governor ¹	i	xiv.”

[From “*Iter Carolinum*, collected by a daily attendant on His Most Sacred Majesty.”]

In the absence of any other particulars that I have met with, it is very difficult to reconcile the entry in the parish Register with these movements. It is just possible that the king may have left his principal attendants, and spent a night or two elsewhere than is indicated in the *Iter*. If the tradition, as given by the Register, is true—and it certainly ought not to be lightly disregarded,—we must suppose either that between the 15th and the 19th of September the king did not follow closely the movements of his troops, and spent two nights under Mr. Taylor’s roof; or that while his attendants made their headquarters at Maister Andrew’s, in the town of Presteign, the king himself was at the Lower Heath.

The connexion of “the King’s Turning” with the movements of Charles I is entirely traditional. There is only this confirmation, if such it can be called, that the road from the Lower Heath to Presteign formerly lay by “the King’s Turning.” The popular notion that the king was *concealed* in Mr. Taylor’s house, must certainly be controverted; for although the king’s movements were harassed, he was certainly not at this period “flying before Cromwell.”

A. W. DAVIS, M.D.

¹ From Chirk the king went to Llangollen, Wrexham, and Chester.

VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.—AWARD.

THE original of the following award, relating to the lands of Valle Crucis Abbey, is among the Hengwrt MSS. at Peniarth, No. 404 of that collection. There is also, at the same place, an old and very correct copy of the same award; but, unfortunately, nearly all the blanks in the original are also blanks in it.

Omnibus X'ri fidelibus presentes lit'as visuris v'l auditoris Grifinus Maredut howelus Madocus filii Madoci 't Ecnius filius Grifini salute' in d'no. Noverit univ'sitas v'ra quod contro'via oborta int' filios Yvaf filij maredut ex una p'te 't abbatem 't conventum de Valle Crucis ex p'te altera sup' terminis int' creygrauc 't alhd Kenbeber tali modo est sopita. Ita videlicet quod p'missione ut'usq' p'tis in nos compr.....st. Nobis v'o conferentibus ad invicem sup' hac causa p' visum est quod creygrauc in t'minis suis meliorib' 't amplioribus sicut dominus Madocus filius us m... donavit p'dictis monachis de valle crucis com'uni consideratione n'r'a 't aliorum virorum p'borum ex sententia inp'petuum adiudicavimus. Ne..... p'tes finaliter habende 't tenende p'vidimus quod p'dicti monachi q'inq' libras argenti v'l earu'dem valorem memoratis filiis yvaf sicut reformata est coram nobis convenit int'eos p'solverent. Ita dumtaxat quod sepredicti filii yvaf pro se 't pro heredib' suis quicquid iuris in p'dictis se habuisse dicebant ipsis die 't loco nobis presentib' 't multis aliis simul 't semel omnino renunciaverunt. Sed quia p'speximus 't luce clarius constat d'calis cont'a monachos nimis injuste mota est 't ne hoc de cetero a cet'is exquisita industria 't malo ingenio in consequentiam traheretur de com'uni consilio nostro 't legalium hominum nostrorum paci 't quieti monachorum in posterum providentes monasterium de valle crucis cum omnibus possessionib' redditibus 't tenementis omnib' etiam terris cum p'tinenciis 't terminis in silvis in pascuis 't pasturis in aquis 't piscariis in montib' 't moris in nemoribus in omnibus aliis rebus sup' t'ram et subtus ad idem monast'ium p'tinentib' in puram 't p'petuam elemosinam p' salute animarum nostrarum 't antecessorum n'ror' 't successorum nostro' prout meli' 't efficacius in cartis domini madoci divisim 't gregatim 't nominatim p'ut etiam in munimentis nos-

tris eisdem monachis collatis 't concessis dictis abbati 't conventui de valle crucis deo 't beate Marie ibidem servientib' carte nostre presentis munimine p'enniter confirmare decrevimus p'fitemur supra (?) 't p'sencium lit'ar' n'rar' atestatione contestamur. Nos ten'i de cetero p'dictos monachos cu' om'i jure suo et justitia pro uirib' nostris cont'a omnes homines ten'e proteger' favendo fovere 't deffensare. Ita quod nec nobis nec ullis aliis liceat cont'a predictos monachos litem movere v'l sup' memoratis t'ris 't nis (terminis?) eos in causam trahere v'l aliquo modo in hac p'te vexare aut p'turbare sint in pristina pace ...tate 't securitate ut possint facilius devocius fiduciali' ad id ad quod ...umpty sunt deo desservire 't pro nobis ad ip'm jugit' preces fundere. Facta est autem hec confirmatio nostra anno g're m^o cc^o xl^o vii^o q'nto id' Decembris 't ut hec donatio n'ra v...st'um rata sit 't inconcussa presentes lit'as sigillorum nostrorum imp'ssione duxim' roborandas. Hiis testibus de religiosis videlicet dompno Madoco abb'e tunc temp' de valle c'cis yvone p'iore Nennio 't philippo monachis eiusdem loci Adam filio peredur Jerusio fr'ib' de ordine p'dicato'. De secularib' de malaur, lewelino filio Madoci Ytello 't kennircho filiis Grifri Seys Iorwerth 't ennio filiis yvaf, Madoco filio melir. De yal, lewelino filio ynr, Madoco filio iorvert, Caducano Rufo, David de Kilken. De Kenleht, Madoco 't philippo filiis ph'i filii Alexandri. De Mohtnant, ytello, Goronu filii Kaducani. Madoco rufo 't multis aliis.

First seal.—A knight on horseback, to sinister. Shield broken off. All extremities ditto. With places of insertion for three other seals.

MERIONETHSHIRE DOCUMENTS.

THE following papers are, it is to be feared, but too characteristic of the state of society in North Wales at the time when they were written.

Gruffith Nanney was the eldest son of Hugh Nanney, Esq., of Nanney (now Nannau) in Merionethshire. He represented that county in the Parliament which began 19 Feb., 1592-3. Lewis Owen and Harry Owen were two of the sons of John Lewis Owen, Esq., of Llwyn, near Dolgelley, who represented the same county in the

Parliament which met upon the 8th of May, 1572; eldest son of Lewis Owen, Esq., Vice-Chamberlain and Baron of the Exchequer of Carnarvon, and Custos Rotulorum for Merionethshire; who represented that county in the Parliament which met upon 8 Nov. 1547, 1 March 1552-3, 2 April 1554, and 12 Nov. 1554; and was murdered near Mallwyd, in October 1555. An account of his murder will be found in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, edition of 1784, vol. i, p. 93.

The date of these documents may be safely assigned to the *early* part of the reign of James I, and to the period during which the bishopric of Bangor was held by Henry Rowlands, who was consecrated upon the 12th of Nov. 1598, and died 6 July 1616. The nobleman to whom the petition is addressed, was, no doubt, the Lord President of the Marches of Wales.

These papers are from the original drafts in the Hengwrt MS. 529.

It may be added that some of the families who at the present day occupy the higher positions in Merionethshire, are descended from the Nanneys and Owens.

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Sept. 22, 1863.

PETITION.

"In most humble manner sheweth vnto your ho. L., your orator gruf. Nanney of Maylan in the com. of Merioneth esq., that whereas your orator was lawfully possessed of on seate, pewe or kneelinge place w^{thin} the parish church of Dolgelly, in the northsyde of the chauncell of the sayd church, being appoynted vnto your orator by the order and lycense of the Right Reverend father in God Henry Bishopp of Bangor, as by the lycense vnder the consistory seale doth appear, and also being the vsuall place where your orator and hys ancestors tyme out of mynd have vsed to kneele & hear devyne servyce. So yt is if yt may pleas your L., that Lewes owen and Harry owen gen., being wild, wilfull and disorded yonge gentlemen, (having of a long tyme borne your orator mortall hatred) and diverse tymes by sundry meanes havinge hearto for by the procurement of John owen esq. their father, being a man likewise

that persecuteth your orator wth deadly hatred, sought to compass the death and distraction of your orator, and nowe of late (not being able to bringe to passe ther vttermost malice) the sayd lewes owen and Henry Owen by the procurement aforsayd have sent for diuerse ther kinsmen, frends, and aliance, out of foregne comties, to the number of xx or xxx desperate yong men, whose names and places of aboad your orator hath not as yet learned; and accompanied with these desperate swaggerers, and diuerse other lewd and Rogish fellowes, whose names are vnderwritten; whereof some have fledd from the places of ther former dwellinge, for murders, felonies & other notorious crymes; and this whole crue being vnlawfully assembled, havinge upon them diuerse sorts of warlike weapons, as bills, swords, pistylls, long staves, &c., vpon the xxvth of this present december, being Cristmas day at night, (not havinge the feare of god befor ther eyes nor respectinge the solemnity due and accustomed at that most high feast of the nativity of our lord & saviour Crist, but styll presentinge ther woonted malyce towards your orator) dyd abouts twoe or three of the clock after mydnight, in most outrageouse and rebellious manner, enter or breake open the sayde church, and then & ther wth axes & hatchetts cutt downe and vtterly spoyle, on [one] wenscott seate or pue wherin your orator did vsually sitt & kneele to hear devyne servyce, (being ther erected by the lycense of the ordinary as aforsayd); and not herwith contented, the next day, being St. Stephen's day, they the sayd lewes owen & Harry owen, by the procurement of the sayd John owen as aforsayd, did place diuerse of ther sayd disordred company wth weapons as aforsayd, in sundry houses within the towne of dolgelley, to watch your orator or some of his servants, as he or they came to church, and to offer your orator further abuse; and therewithall thinkinge to provoke your orator to forgett hymself, the sayd harry owen being armed wth a short sword & dager, a thinge vnvsuall in those partes to be worne in churches, vnless yt be when gentlmen travell; and wthall, beinge in hys hose & doublett, wthout eny cloake (soe much the redier to comytt an asault) came to the sayd church of Dolgelley, and seated hymself in the kneeling place wher your orator as aforsayd was appoynted to sytt & kneele by the ordinary, whereby your orator was fayne to kneele wth the parson of the parish for that day; and after servyce ended, your orator cominge out of the church, the sayd harry owen followed your orator behind his bake, and vsed diuerse woords of provokment & quarrell; but your orator neyther replied nor tooke vpon hym to hear hys rayling woords and braggs, and soe partly because your orator mynistred noe

occasion or means of offence or braulinge, and partly because the concourse of people was so great that day that your orator was safely conducted home; yett neverthesse they have synce continewed together in such vnlawfull maner that your orator may not come to hys parish church, nor otherwise resort to the sayd towne of Dolgelley abouts the kinges servyce, without a stronge guard, or otherwise be in great danger of life. The premyses consydered, and for that the sayd Riotts, routs and vnlawfull assemblies & others the misdemanors aforesayd, are contrary to the kinges ma^{ty} lawes & statutes, & greatly to the terror of well disposed people, may yt please your L. to graunt proces &c."

CHALLENGE.

"Mr. lewes owen, I receaved a lettere subscribed with your name, as yt should seeme intendinge a challenge to me and my Cozen Edmond lloyd. The maner of your sendinge, fyrst I vtterly dislike, That soe base a messenger should be sent between gent. in a matter of that nature, and withall the lettere to be delyvered me in the open markett, and all the towne to knowe the contents befor yt come to my handes, therefor in my judgement, yt was yll handled. I might justly take exceptions to the contents also, beinge in every sentence imperfect; for you make mencion of a litle jarr between vs, which you doe not recite. And agayne you make Edmond Lloyd & your brother John owen partakers in this accion, which I doe not allowe: if there be eny dislike between them lett them answer on an other, as they will. I doe not doubt but my Cozen Edmond will performe the part of a gent. To my accions in this matter noe body shall be party nor pryvy but we both, althoughe your letter be blazed over the country already; and wher you make mencion of an oth, yt is never vsed, for the credyte of a gent. ys sufficient in that case, because the woords and the honor are the grounds wherevpon the poynts of armes doe depend, whereof I greatly marvayle that you are ignorant; and for secresy do not think that Gruff. Nanney's shyrt shall knowe of our meeting. And in your post scriptum you name three kyndes of fyght, the last whereof is generally condemned for gent. to vse. And judginge which is fyttest, you seeme to direct me being deff^t but I am not so rawe but that I knowe I am to appoynt the weapons, the tyme, the place, and the maner cosonant to the rules of armes. To awnswere therfor your challenge (althoughe I might take many exceptions therevnto, neverthesse to avoyd the generall judgement of men) I

doe promise by the fayth of a gent. to be at the sea shore within full sea marke, about half waye between barmouth and harlech, directly vnder the church of llanddwyy, vpon friday nexte by viij. of the clock in the morning, & there to stay an houre at the lest : the weapons that I will bringe with me shallbe only a rapier and dager, the company myself alone, for I will have noe person lyvinge partaker of such an accion in my behalf. The length of my rapier blad I doe send by the berer, what yt meaneth he doth not knowe. I will not fayle to performe what I have written, by the help of the just god to whome I comend my defence, and in whome I only trust.

"G. N.

"*P.S.* because you dyd send your man with your lettere I doe send my man, which I knowe is vnseemly."

· EARLY INSCRIBED STONE, ANGLESEY.

It may be interesting to some of our members to know that I have lately rediscovered the inscribed gravestone of St. Macutus in Penrhos Llugwy churchyard. It is situated near the west end of the church, on the south side, about a yard and a half from the church wall. It was partly hidden by a modern grave, and partly overgrown with turf. This latter I have carefully removed, and laid bare the inscription; of which I am able to



give a correct copy through the kindness of the Rev. Wynn Williams, jun., of Menaifron, who rode over purposely to take a rubbing. By this it will be seen

that neither Rowlands (*vide* p. 156, first edition, of *Mona Antiqua*) nor the *Arch. Camb.* (*vide* No. xxviii, p. 296) is correct. The former is more particularly incorrect in the form of the letters. The latter also omits the double c in ECCETI. For an account of the saint, who was bishop of St. Maloes, and patron of Llanfechell Church, see *Mona Antiqua* and *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*.

Whilst writing on this subject I must express my regret that no member of the Society has visited and examined the very curious and extensive British temple and fortress in the extreme end of Llugwy Wood, near the ruined chapel, before it has become quite overthrown and traceless. I believe there are few more interesting remains in Anglesey. The late Lord Dinorben often took his friends there from Llys Dulas; and it is unnoticed by Rowlands or any other antiquary.

There were also, within my recollection, three large circular mounds, over forty feet in circumference, at the bottom of *Llugwy Rock*, where the wall of the new plantation now is. They were entirely composed of small stones such as a man could carry, and were called in Welsh "the graves of the Irishmen." They were destroyed when the slope of the hill was taken into cultivation, about forty years ago; but I never heard that any human remains, or other relics, were found there.

The font of the desecrated chapel having been first degraded into a gate-stone, and then into the step of a stile, is now replaced within the chapel walls. It is a square block of limestome of the rudest description.

BOSTON.

THE MANSELS OF MARGAM.

THE Mansels of Margam are one, and claim to be the chief, of the many families of that name, which have flourished in almost every part of Britain, and which, if not all of one blood, certainly all spring from the town or district of Le Mans, upon the Sarthe, in the old upper province of Maine.

They all appear, at a very early period, to have been persons of territorial importance. The name, as Mansel, Mancell, Maunsell, Manxel, and under other forms, occurs frequently in the records of the realm during the reign of Henry I and II, Richard, John, and Henry III, in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Cumberland, Derby, Essex, Leicester, Lincoln, Middlesex, Norfolk, Oxon, Rutland, Salop, Somerset, and Suffolk. They were strong in Leicestershire, and one of their chief seats was at Chicheley, in Bucks, whence the extant Maunsels of Thorpe-Mansor claim to derive. They also appear in the fourteenth century among the Magnates of Ireland, where, as in Caermarthenshire, branches of much later offshoot still flourish. They did not cross the Tweed in any force, though two of their number were successive abbots of Kelso.

In some form or other they all bear the "Maunch," or "lady's sleeve," in their arms, a bearing explained in the metaphysical age of heraldry to denote devotion to the fair sex, but which, without detracting from the unquestioned gallantry of the Mansels, was in their case attributable to nothing more than an insatiable thirst for "Arma parlantia," "Arms canting or punning," that social vice having been thought respectable by the Norman heralds.

Of the first five reputed ancestors of the house of Mansel, three or four certainly existed, although their relations towards each other are obscure. Philip Mansel, the head of the pedigree, is said to have married the

heiress of Hugh, who derived his patronymic of Mount Sorrell from the singular rock of syenite that overhangs the Leicestershire Soar, or rather that did overhang it, until much of its substance was carted away to improve the roads of London.

Of John, their son, it is only recorded that he begot another John, who married a Luttrell of Irnham, in Lincolnshire, and was the parent of Henry Mansel, whose second son, Herbert, was secretary, and, in 1221, abbot of Kelso, a dignity which he resigned in 1236 with great formality, depositing his staff and mitre upon the high altar of the church. His successor was a certain Hugh Mansel, but the legate Otho, on visiting Kelso, disallowed the resignation, and forced Herbert in 1239 to resume the office, "*quod indiscretè reliquerat.*" The restored abbot died soon afterwards, "*vitâ et moribus laudabilis, plenus dierum, gratis curam reliquit pastoraalem.*" The lesson, however, seems not to have been lost upon the family, whose next churchman displayed no sort of anxiety to resign his benefices.

Henry Mansel, eldest brother of the abbot, witnessed a Sussex charter in the reign of Richard I, and in his son, Sir John Mansel, the family produced their first and by much their most considerable public character.

Sir John Mansel was unusually well educated. He began life as a layman and a soldier, nor was it until he had lost a first, and probably a second, wife, and become the parent of three children, that his grief or his ambition led him to take orders.

As an ecclesiastic, he became the trusted and faithful counsellor of Henry III, as he had been, to some extent, of King John. He was the earliest known Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a successful ambassador to France, the Pope, Scotland, and Spain, whence he brought back the celebrated treaty with Alphonso of Castile, which, with its golden seal, is still preserved among the records. When in Scotland in 1248 he was detached by the ambassadors from England to lead an armed band against Norham. In 1254 he was appointed

proxy to wed the Princess Eleanor; and upon the actual presence of the bridegroom being insisted upon, he accompanied the Queen and Prince Edward to Burgos, and was present. Soon afterwards he was sent to Scotland with Richard Earl of Gloucester, where they succeeded in liberating the king and queen of that country from the Castle of Edinburgh. He also accompanied Richard Earl of Cornwall to Germany, and promoted his election there as King of the Romans. On more than one occasion he held the seals as Lord Keeper, and he was one of the conservators nominated in the king's interest to draw up the provisions of Oxford. Probably, in consequence of this, and as an act of form only, he was one of the three lords sent to forbid Earl Richard from landing until he had sworn to observe the provisions—at least, this is the most charitable solution of his being shortly afterwards a principal party to the king's dispensation from his oath by the Pope.

Sir John's strictly ecclesiastical honours and rewards were also very considerable. He was chaplain to the Pope and to Henry III, Provost of Beverley, Treasurer of York, and Chancellor of St. Paul's. He held a deanery and stalls in several cathedrals, and upwards of three hundred ordinary benefices, the wealth from which was said by his enemies to amount to eighteen thousand marks annually, and enabled him to entertain the kings and queens of England and Scotland, Prince Edward, and the nobles and prelates of the court at his house in Tothill Fields, and, a far more suitable employment of it, to endow two religious houses.

He seems to have been extremely unpopular, and, on one occasion, was arrogant enough to remark that a benefice of twenty pounds was only enough to feed his dogs.

His overweening covetousness, and, still more, his devotion to King Henry, drew upon him the displeasure of Simon de Montfort, and brought about his exile and ruin, but Henry, who always stood his friend, described him as "educated under our wing, whose ability, morals,

and merits we have approved, from his youth up," a testimony confirmed in 1252 by his appointment as one of the executors of the king's will.

Sir John died beyond sea, according to the unfriendly Chronicle of Mailros, "in paupertate et dolore maximo," in 1268.

Thomas and Henry, his elder sons, sided, as was not uncommon, against their father with the barons. One was taken and the other slain at the battle of Northampton in 48 H. III. William, the third son, was ancestor of the Maunsels of Chicheley.

Henry, son of Thomas and grandson of Sir John, was father of Walter Mansel of Missenden, in Bucks, who seems to have visited the Holy Land, and whose son, Sir Robert, was probably the first who connected himself with Wales, though, as usual with the Cambro-Norman families, the connection with the English stock, certain generally, cannot be specifically proved.

Sir Robert Mansel of Missenden married Berga Langton of Henllwys and Langrove, a Gower heiress.

This excellent example was followed by their son, Richard of Missenden, tenth in descent, who, with the hand of Lucy Scurlage, gained the manor of Scurlage Castle, also in Gower.

"On ne s'arrête pas dans un si beau chemin," and their son, Sir Hugh Mansel, who flourished in 1360-1390, proving the fitness of the heraldic signification of the paternal maunch, added a third and more considerable root to the family tree. He married Isabel Penrice, heiress of the castle and manor of that name, and, by her maternal ancestors the De Braoses and De la Mares, heiress also of the manors of Llandimore, Oxwich, and Port Eynon, all in Gower. To these Richard Mansel, the next in descent, seems to have added half a fee in Knelston, and thus, by an unusually rapid succession of marriages with small local heiresses, was accumulated a property in Gower, of very nearly the dimensions of that still held by the family.

Where the Mansels at first resided is unknown, but

the match with Penrice gave them rather an important and extensive castle at that place, and, probably, a fortified house at Oxwich.

Penrice Castle, one of the three keys of Gower, much of which still remains, occupies a commanding position at the head of one of those bays for which Gower is celebrated; but the family preferred the adjacent and more sheltered position of Oxwich, and were designated of that place for four generations, until the incidents of the Reformation endowed them with a wider territory, and called them to greater opulence and power.

The first three matches in Gower established their estate and position among the Norman settlers, the next three connected them with the ancient Welsh gentry. Richard Mansel, of Oxwich, married a Turberville, a daughter of a family of Norman male descent indeed, but who, by repeated local intermarriages and repeated insurrections, had come to be regarded in Glamorgan as more Welsh than the Welshmen. John Mansel, their son, married a daughter of William ap Llewellyn, a descendant of the well-known Einon Sais of Llywell, and the wife of Philip Mansel, the next in descent, was a daughter of the great house of Nicholas or Rice of Dynevor, then the chiefest in South Wales, and the most celebrated for its attachment to the cause of the Red Rose.

Of this cause Philip Mansel was a devoted and gallant upholder, opposing with all his influence the rising power of the Herberts, headed by Gwylim Ddu, the first and very celebrated Earl of Pembroke of that great Yorkist family, by maternal descent from whom the Dukes of Beaufort still hold the signory of Gower. Both leaders sealed their opinions with their blood. William, after Banbury, upon the cill of the church porch; and Philip, in 1461, a few years earlier, but more happily, upon the field of battle of Mortimer's Cross, whither he led a body of Welsh, who accompanied Jasper Tudor. He was attainted, by name, in the general Act of 4 Edward IV as Philip Mauncell of Ox-

wich, and an Act of the 7th-8th of the same king, declares his estates vested in Sir Roger Vaughan, the well-known Brecknock and Herefordshire Yorkist. This act was, no doubt, held to set aside a deed dated 1460, by which Philip entailed his estates upon Jenkin, his son. Jane Mansel, his daughter, married Sir Matthew Cradock of Swansea, a very remarkable man in a subsequent reign, and both a shipowner and the commander of a ship in the Royal Navy, or what represented that force under Henry VIII.

Jenkin Mansel, surnamed by the Welsh "Dewr," or "the Valiant," though, or perhaps because, he began life as a landless man, did not swerve from the opinions or actions of his father. He was one of the not very numerous band of Welshmen who joined the Earl of Richmond on his landing at Milford in 1485, and with his kinsman, Sir Rice ap Thomas of Dynevor, shared in the subsequent successes of the house of Tudor. His attainder was reversed 1 H. VII, 1485, and once again, and for the last time, there was a Mansel of Oxwich.

Jenkin was afterwards one of those who took part in the celebrated tournament of Carew Castle, and, by his marriage with a grand-daughter of Edward IV, he, like his sovereign, united the rival roses in his family; and, by his wife's descent from the Chicheleys, secured to his posterity the benefits, while such things were, of "founder's kin" at All Souls.

Rice Mansel, eldest of seven children, was, like his sire and grandsire, a valiant soldier, seeking fame where it was then to be found, in Ireland. He received knighthood from the king, 27 H. VIII, and was sent with five hundred men to assist in suppressing the Earl of Kildare. He evidently behaved well, for in the following year he was created Chamberlain of Chester. His boldness was not confined to war, for he ventured upon three wives, having by the two first but daughters. The third lady, a Warwickshire heiress of the house of D'Abridgecourt or D'Ambreticourt, whose ancestor was one of the founders of the Garter, not only brought him

sons, but, by her interest with the Princess Mary, is supposed to have helped him to obtain a lease, in 1537, of the dissolved abbey of Margam, which, shortly afterwards, for the very moderate sum of one thousand pounds, he got converted into a freehold. About fourteen years later, the fall of a stone from his new building at Oxwich at the feet of his wife, is said, rather improbably, to have induced Sir Rice to leave it, as it still remains, unfinished, and to remove the chief seat of the family to Margam.

Sir Rice's will is dated 16th November, 1588, and was proved on the 10th of May following. He died at his house in Clerkenwell early in the latter year, aged at least seventy-five years, possessed of great wealth, and leaving behind him the deserved reputation of the second founder of the family. He was buried at St. Bartholomew's Smithfield, but has a stately monument at Margam.

The establishment of the Mansels in the seat of the monks of Margam concurred, with other circumstances happening about the same time, to produce a great change in the internal balance of power in the county.

Before the reign of Henry VIII, the present shire of Glamorgan was composed of the signory of Glamorgan and the lordships of Gower and Cilvae. These latter, extending from the Llchwyr to the Nedd, or nearly so, obeyed the successive sway of the Bellomonts, de Braoses, and Mowbrays, and, more recently, of the great Yorkist Earl of Pembroke. Glamorgan, from the Nedd to the Taff, was ruled in turn by the Norman Earls of Gloucester, the De Clares, Despencers, Beauchamps, and Nevills, for a time by crook-back Richard, and finally by Jasper Tudor.

These great marcher lords, with powers little less than regal, dwarfed all the local gentry, however considerable. About the period of the Reformation circumstances changed. The western lordships passed by a female to the house of Somerset, who cared but little for their outlying dependency; and the signory of Gla-

morgan, shorn of all its marcher attributes, was granted to an illustrious but illegitimate branch of the Herberts, who soon afterwards acquired more important estates in Wiltshire, and made Wilton their chief seat. Thus it happened that, while the Mansels became a Glamorgan as well as a Gower family, the feudal lords were being removed, and the great squires were assuming their natural power and influence in the new county.

The chief families in Glamorgan, towards the end of the sixteenth century, were the Lewises of Van, the Mansels, and the Stradlings of St. Donat's. An assessment, taken somewhat later, gives the Lewis rental at £5,000, and those of Mansel and Stradling at £4,000 each. The Lewises were of pure Welsh descent, and their estate was in substance old, though somewhat augmented by recent church grants or purchases. The Stradlings, a family of high acquirements, but of Catholic and ultra-monarchical opinions, which in the next generation led them to support Queen Mary and the Spanish match, had acquired little or no church property. They also represented one of the twelve knights of Glamorgan, which, even at the Reformation, was becoming a rare distinction.

These three families continued for about two centuries to divide the power of the county, in which the representatives of two of them still continue to play no inconsiderable parts. The influence of the Mansels lay about Bridgend and Margam, Aber-Avan, and in Gower. The Stradling power was great in the Vale of Glamorgan, from Merthyr Mawr to East Orchard; beyond which they also directed the influence of the absent St. Johns of Fonmon. The Lewises sat in the hearts of the Welshmen about Cardiff and St. Fagan's, and throughout the lordships of Senghenydd, Glyn Rhondda, and Miskin. The Mansels, on the contrary, owed much of the ascendancy which they acquired to their English alliances, and their consequent connexion with the court and with politics. They were one of the very few South Welsh families who always had a house in London.

Catherine, one of the daughters of Sir Rice, is remarkable for one of the most ingenious of the epitaphs so common in her day. She married William Basset of Beaupré; and upon their tomb at Monkton Combe, near Bath, is the following inscription—

- “Filia Ricei Mansell equitis Katherina.
 Bassetti hic conjux armigeri, e patria es.
 Bewperium domus est, et quo jacet ille sepultus
 Rex Britonum Morgan nasceris ipsa loco.
- “Annus erat vitæ decies octavus, et iste
 Te velut ante virum sustulit annus unum
 Quos ut junxit amor juvenes, sic junxit utrosque.
 Annorum numero mors violenta senes.
- “Junior illa fuit septem cum nuberet annis,
 Septem annos vidua est facta cæca vim.
 Conjugium ætatis magnum par tempus habebant,
 Vitæ ambo et mortis par fuit ipsa dies.”

Which has thus been rendered into English :

- “Rice Mansel, knight. His daughter Katherine,
 From home thou art, the wife of Basset's 'Squire;
 Bewper thy home, and where they did enshrine
 Morgan, the Briton's king, thou didst a babe respire.
- “Thy term of years was eight times ten; but time
 Thine age sustained, and his who was thy care.
 A youthful pair love joined; and here they join
 In death who had of days and years an equal share.
- “His junior seven years; when they had wedded been
 That term of life, and she a widow seven.
 So that each had of time an equal share,
 And the same day unlocked to both the gate of Heaven.”

“William Basset died 10 March, 1586, aged eighty years. Katherine Basset died 10 March, 1593, aged eighty years.”

Sir Edward Mansel, the first of Margam, was, like his father Sir Rice, Chamberlain of Chester. He also was a brave soldier, and won renown under Queen Elizabeth. According to Camden he was a man of cultivated mind, fond of antiquities, and a learned genealogist. To a comely and athletic person he added a reputation for talents and virtue. He sat for Glamorgan in 1554,

was knighted in 1572, and married Lady Jane Somerset, a daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester and suzerain of Gower. They had nineteen children, of whom ten died in youth. Francis, the second son, was ancestor of the baronets of Muddlescombe, co. Caermarthen, head of the male line of Mansel. Sir Edward Mansel died at Margam in 1585, and is there commemorated in the church in company with a sufficient number of marble Mansels to constitute a respectable congregation.

Sir Robert Mansel, fourth son of Sir Edward, was too considerable a person to be passed over in silence with the ordinary cadets of the family. He followed the sea as a profession, and at an early age attracted the notice of Lord Howard of Effingham, whose mother was a Gamage of Coyty, allied to the Mansels, and who was then lord high admiral of England. Under Effingham and the Earl of Essex he served with distinction at the taking of Cadiz in 1596, receiving knighthood at the hand of the latter. In the next year he again served with Essex, as captain of the admiral's own ship, in the expedition against the Spanish galleons. In 1601 he was returned for King's Lynn, and was employed to guard the coasts. While thus engaged, in 1602, off the South Foreland, he intercepted the Spanish ships under Spinola, which had escaped from the attack upon Coimbra by Lewis and Monson, and were in retreat for Flanders. He fell in with them near the Goodwins, drove Spinola's ship into Dunkirk, and took or destroyed the remainder. For this service Elizabeth, sparing as she was of her honours, named him Admiral of the Narrow Seas and Vice-Admiral of the Fleet. In 1603 he sat for the county of Caermarthen.

Soon after the accession of James, ambassadors from France and Spain announced a visit of congratulation ; and Sir Jerome Turner and Sir Robert Mansel received orders to escort them,—the one from Calais, the other from Gravelines. The Frenchman, the great Sully, ordered the vice-admiral of France to hoist the French flag, on which Sir Jerome referred to Sir Robert for

orders, and was instructed to have the flag struck, or to fire upon the ship. Sully gave way, but complained to James of this arrogant assertion of the sovereignty of the seas within sight of the shores of France.

In 1605 the vice-admiral accompanied Essex, the high admiral, to Corunna, and proceeded with him to Valladolid to receive the Spanish king's oath to observe the recent treaty of London. While the embassy was at Corunna the Spaniards were suspected of purloining the plate sent by the Spanish court to do honour to the English table, while they accused the English of the theft. Soon afterwards Sir Robert, while presiding at a grand entertainment, observed a Spanish guest in the act of putting some of the silver into his bosom. He rose, took the Spaniard to where sat the grandes of his nation, and then and there shook him violently until the plate tumbled out. The same personal boldness was displayed by him at Valladolid, where he pursued a thief of some rank into the house of an alguazil, and by force recovered a jewel stolen from his person.

The rough British tar seems at first to have been less acceptable to James than to Elizabeth. "The proud Welshman," as he was called, had many enemies. Howard, the flexible Earl of Northampton, fostered a charge against him of having embezzled £14,000. He, Sir John Trevor, and Phineas Pett, were accused of freighting the ship *Resistance* from the king's stores, in March 1605, selling the goods for their own gain, and then claiming wages, etc., for their voyage, as though she had gone on the king's service. A commission was engaged seven years in sifting this charge, which completely broke down; although Sir Robert's triumphant acquittal in that corrupt court was due quite as much to the spirited conduct of Cecil as to his proven innocence. In 1610, among other very considerable sums paid to him as Treasurer of the Navy, he had £2,500 for finishing the *Prince Royal*, in addition to £6,000 formerly advanced.

Upon the failure of Essex's abilities from age, Sir Robert became a supporter (and lived to repent it) of

Buckingham, his successor, urging him to employ the time of peace in building and repairing ships of war. In 1614 he again sat for Caermarthenshire; and in 1616 his commission as vice-admiral during pleasure was extended to him for life, and he became a commissioner for the management of the navy. In January 1619 Buckingham was made lord high admiral, and in 1620 he sent out Sir Robert to put down the Algerine pirates, with powers to impress shipping and execute martial law at sea. His second in command was the well-known vice-admiral, Sir Richard Hawkins, and his rear-admiral, his tough old kinsman, Sir Thomas Button of Cottrell. They sailed from Plymouth in October 1620, burned several vessels in the port of Algiers, cleared the seas for the time, and brought back the fleet in safety. This success excited Buckingham's jealousy, and gave rise to intrigues on the part of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador; but James seems to have become aware of Sir Robert's value, and to have borne him scatheless. In answer to an imputation by Gondomar, of underhand dealing with the Algerines, the king, with unwonted spirit, said: "Think you, sir ambassador, that I can believe this? I, who have chosen himself for that I know him to be valiant, honest, and nobly descended, as any in my kingdom. Never will I believe him to be guilty of so base an action."

In 1622 he was returned for Glamorgan as "Sir Robert Mansel, knight, vice-admiral." He was also still treasurer of the navy, in which capacity he received £5,555:16:0 to provide shipping for the Queen of Bohemia. In 1629, as vice-admiral of England, he held a muster of the watermen of the port of London, 2,453 in number, besides 302 fishermen; and soon afterwards a muster of all the sea-faring men and mariners of the port and liberties; and finally, a survey of the ships in the same district, with their burden, ordnance, age, owners, and masters. In 1631, 25 June, he appears as inspecting the ships of war at Chatham and Rochester. He had then ceased to be treasurer of the navy. Nine

years later, in 1642, upon the supercession of Northumberland and his Deputy High-Admiral Warwick, as leaning towards the Parliament, it was proposed to nominate Sir Robert, then residing at Greenwich, as a great naval commander, and popular with the service. Charles, however, while admitting his loyalty and experience, objected to his great age; and, indeed, he died shortly afterwards at eighty.

Sir Robert was not only an able seaman, but distinguished in a very different pursuit. About 1615 he observed, probably as a naval question, the vast consumption of timber for fuel in the glass-house furnaces; and for this he proposed to substitute coal, and obtained a patent of monopoly for the manufacture of white and green glass. In 1630 he took exception to the wording of a patent to the Earl of Arundel, and procured the omission of "glass and glass-works"; and soon afterwards he took a similar exception to a privilege for the use of turf and peat for making iron. In working his patent he sank large sums in importing skilled workmen from the Continent, so that King James " marvelled that Robin Mansel, having won so much honour on the water, should meddle with fire." But, observes the panegyrist of his house, quoting the family motto, "Sir Robert is a true Mansel,—*quod vult valde vult*,"—and he pushed forward his schemes until he attained success. He had a glass-house in Broad-street, London, and was both a manufacturer and importer; his monopoly being recognised in a proclamation by Charles, forbidding the importation of foreign glass during its continuance. Sir Robert's success in the improvement of the manufacture is said to have been very considerable, although it has been eclipsed by his naval fame.

There is a picture of the rough old admiral at Margam; and several of his letters are preserved there and in the State Paper Office in London. He left no issue, though married thrice. His last wife was sister to the great Lord Bacon.

Sir Thomas Mansel of Margam, the admiral's elder

brother, was knighted in the lifetime of his father ; and sat for Montgomeryshire in the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth (1596-7), and for Glamorgan in 1603 and 1614. He stood in high favour with King James, was a member of the Council of the Marches ; and in 1611 accepted the (for him) questionable honour of a baronetcy, the third creation of the new order. In 1628 he took part in a local inquiry into some malicious inventions concerning the king, as is shewn by his existing reports and correspondence ; and in 1629-31 he and his family bore the brunt of a dispute with Herbert, the deputy vice-admiral of South Wales, about a claim to a private vessel (the *St. Michael*) driven ashore at Oystermouth. Herbert, backed by his kinsman, Philip Earl of Pembroke, claimed for the crown ; and the Mansels claimed for their kinsman, the Earl of Worcester. The quarrel seems to have been a very pretty one. The Mansels seized the ship, and held it by force of arms. Herbert committed some of their adherents, and Sir Thomas set them free. The matter was taken up by the Admiralty, and the Mansels were summoned to London ; and on the whole seem to have got the worst of it,—no doubt because at that time the Herbert interest was in the ascendant. Sir Thomas Mansel's first wife, and the mother of his sons, was a daughter of Lewis Lord Mordaunt, ancestor of the Earl of Peterborough of eccentric memory. From their third son (Thomas) are said to have sprung the Maunsels of Plassy, and those of Ballywilliam in Ireland ; but the descent has been challenged, and, if proved, would carry the baronetcy. Sir Thomas died in 1631, aged seventy-five.

Sir Lewis Mansel, son and successor of Sir Thomas, and joint Chamberlain of West Wales, after the precedent of his family married three wives. He was an Oxford man, of a studious habit, and increased his knowledge by foreign travel. It is recorded of him that he was a valiant soldier, though of a peaceable turn of mind, a kind husband and father, a patron of the liberal arts, and exceedingly charitable to the poor. He died

in 1638, and declining health seems to have prevented him from taking a share in the party politics of his day. His tendencies were probably royalist; but his third wife, and the mother of his successor, was sister to Edward, second Earl of Manchester, the distinguished leader of the moderate party in the great civil war.

Sir Edward Mansel, their eldest son, was an infant of four years old at his father's death in 1638; and thus it was that the Mansels, unlike their gallant kinsmen of St. Donats, won no distinctions, and sustained no losses, in the civil war. The custom of his family, and the care of an able mother, ensured him a good education at Westminster and Oxford, to which university his father had been a benefactor. Soon after the king's death Sir Edward travelled abroad, and was employed for several years in making what was afterwards called "The Grand Tour." He returned shortly before the king, and sat for Glamorgan in the Restoration Parliament, as well as in the last of Charles II and the only one of James. In 1660 he had, with Arthur Mansel, a re-grant of his father's joint office of Chamberlain and Chancellor of West Wales, reversionary on the death of Edward Earl of Manchester, and of the stewardship of the honour of Pembroke and manor of Penkelley, co. Brecon. He was also vice-admiral of South Wales, and seems to have wielded great and deserved popular influence in his native county. In his marriage he fell back upon the earlier traditions of his family, and united himself to a Welsh heiress, Martha, daughter of Edward Carn of Ewenny, with whom he obtained Llandough Castle, St. Marychurch, and other lands still held by their descendants. Sir Edward died at seventy-two years, in 1706, having outlived his eldest son, and being succeeded by the second.

Sir Thomas Mansel, the fourth baronet, designated (until his father's death) as "of Penrice," devoted himself to public life, but married at the age of nineteen. His offices were numerous, but indicative rather of his rank and wealth than of any great abilities or success

in statesmanship. He entered public life under the protection of his kinsman, Charles fourth Earl, and afterwards first Duke of Manchester, a man of considerable and active ability, attached to William, and a firm friend to the house of Hanover. Mr. Mansel took part in the Earl's embassy to Paris in 1699; sat for Glamorgan in the last parliament of William, and each succeeding one, until his elevation to the peerage. In 1704 he became Comptroller of the Household to Queen Anne, and was sworn of her Privy Council. On the fall of Lord Treasurer Godolphin in 1710, he was one of the Commissioners who succeeded him. In 1711 he became again Comptroller, and soon afterwards was a Teller of the Exchequer. He was also Vice-Admiral of South Wales and Governor of Milford Haven. Truth compels us to relate that in 1711 he submitted to be one of Harley's twelve peers, and was created Baron Mansel of Margam.

Lord Mansel's private character stood high. Like his progenitors, he was an educated and accomplished man, and an encourager of learning. To him Edward Llwyd dedicated his *Archæologia*, and his influence secured for it unusual support in Glamorgan. He has also left a reputation for politeness and affability of manner, for personal beauty, and for great local liberality. He died at Margam in 1723, aged probably about fifty-six years. His wife, Martha Millington, was the daughter and heiress of an eminent London merchant, by whom he had three sons; two of whom, with one grandson, inherited his peerage; and two daughters, from one of whom descends the present owner of Margam.

Robert Mansel, eldest son of the first lord, was in Parliament for Minehead. He lived at Crayford in Kent, and married a daughter and heiress of Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, lost in 1707. He is said to have been an amiable man; but he was but little known in the county, since he died before his father.

Thomas Mansel, his son, then but four years old,

became the third lord. He also was brought up at Westminster and Oxford, and travelled abroad. In 1743-4 he went to London to take his seat, and was cut off by fever in his twenty-fifth year.

For the first time in the long pedigree of the Mansels, the succession ascended, and Christopher, uncle to the last, and second son of the first, became the third Lord Mansel. He was of Lincoln College, Oxford, and graduated M.A. in 1710. He lived much at Newick Place, near Lewes; and died there, unmarried, in 1744. He is said to have limited the Mansel estates to his brother Bussy for life; with remainder, failing heirs male, to his sister's son, Thomas Talbot.

Bussy Mansel, seventh baronet and fourth baron, was member for Cardiff in 1722, and afterwards for the county, from 1727 until his succession in 1734. He inherited Briton Ferry, while a minor, from a kinsman, and the Castle and estate of St. Donats on the death of the last Stradling of that place. The addition of Margam to these properties gave him an immense estate in the county; and in wealth and local influence he, the last of his race, was also the greatest. Lord Bussy was twice married; but left by his second wife, Lady Barbara Villiers, a daughter only, who, upon his death in 1750, inherited the estate of Briton Ferry, which, on the death of her husband, George second Lord Vernon, and of their daughter Louisa, in 1786, was left to her maternal relation, the Earl of Jersey. St. Donats, the reversion of which Lord Mansel thought to have secured by purchase from the Bowens, was claimed by the Stradling heirs, and also passed to strangers. Margam, by much the most considerable of the three estates, descended, under the limitation of Lord Christopher, to the heirs of his sister Mary, who married John Ivery Talbot of Laycock. Happily for the prosperity of Margam these two estates were not to be united. Laycock passed to a daughter, whose son adopted the name of Talbot; while Margam was settled upon a son, the Rev. Thomas Talbot, whose grandson, Christopher Rice Mansel Tal-

bot, is the present lord of Margam, Penrice, Oxwich, and Llandough ; and, with the estates, inherits a taste for Oxford distinctions and many of the higher qualities of his Mansel ancestry.

The Mansels, though not a greatly distinguished race, have not been wanting in character. When manliness was necessary to success, and every lord of a manor was a soldier, they were successful ; and their continued military habits carried them with honour through the Wars of the Roses, and down to the more settled times following the Reformation. They have produced one very eminent sailor, and a man, as is shewn by his official history and correspondence, of considerable administrative ability. Circumstances, fortunately perhaps for their wealth, but in all probability unfortunately for their fame, precluded them from taking a part in the great civil war ; but each and all of their later representatives were men of education and of foreign travel, took a moderate part in politics, and bore the character of upright and honourable men in their county and in the world.

It is remarkable that though from an early period a race ambitious of distinction, and possessing wealth, the Mansels, save on one occasion, have not sought to extend their estates by purchase, neither have they been driven by extravagance to burden or diminish them. With the sole exception of Margam, their property has been acquired by marriage. Such as they received, so they have retained it. Every other considerable family in the county—Lewis, Stradling, Mathew, Kemeys, Herbert, Evans, Aubrey, Wyndham, Jones, Basset,—has from time to time either sought to increase its acres, or has allowed itself, when pressed, to diminish them. This the Mansels and their successors have not done. Nearly every main quartering in their ample escutcheon represents a manor in their own county ; and beyond these and the happy purchase of Sir Rice, they have not manifested, and do not manifest, any disposition to expand.

LLANDYSSUL CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

THE parish of Llandyssul lies among the hills which intervene between the valley of the Severn and the first ascent of the Kerry range. It is at about equal distances between Montgomery and Kerry, and covers a district of great wildness as well as beauty. The village is at the opening of a small ravine running up into the hills, and extending itself along either bank of a stream. It is comparatively little known, and has probably long been happy in the absence of materials for history.

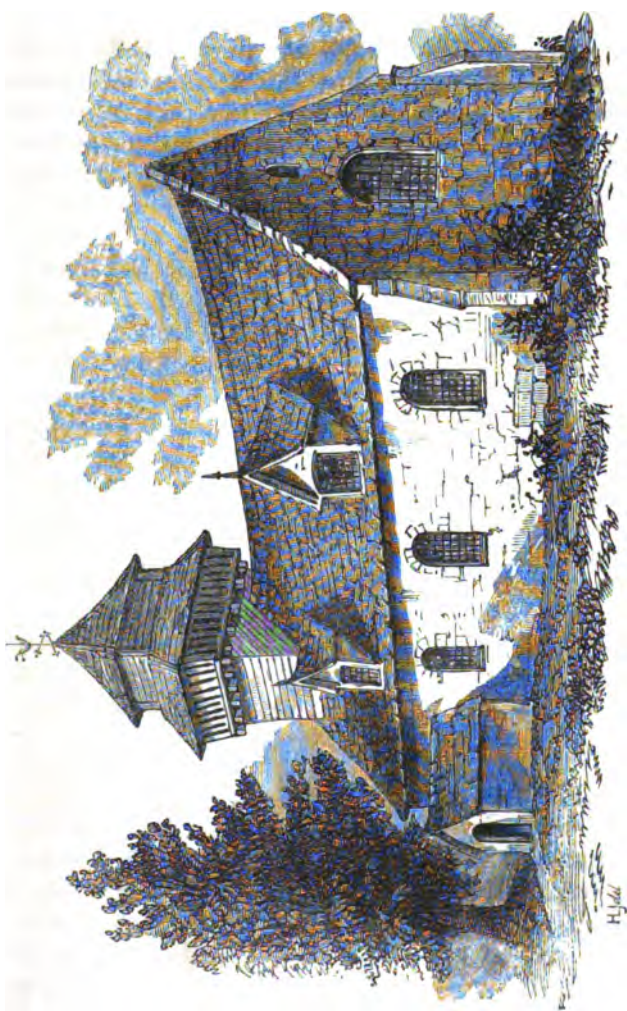
On a knoll rising above the village stands the ancient parish church; but it stands there for a short period only, its destruction having been decided upon, and a faculty unfortunately obtained from the bishop for that purpose. A new church is in process of erection on a level field about two hundred yards off, and adjoining the grounds of the parsonage house. As this ancient building presents several architectural peculiarities, and possesses a wooden belfry almost unique in Wales, its principal features deserve to be put on record before it is needlessly obliterated and lost to the country. It may here be observed that the old building is quite capable of repair; and that although much mutilated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—those periods of ecclesiastical and architectural debasement,—yet it might be made suitable to the wants of the parish. At the same time it must not be forgotten that this building possesses what the new one possibly may never have, certainly not for a long period, the affectionate veneration of the inhabitants. Though Dissent has of course alienated many from the services of the Church, yet this carries with it all those recollections of ancient times, all that *prestige* of antiquity, which no combination of circumstances, however happy, can confer on any new building, however magnificent.

It is going to be replaced by an edifice larger, and

more mediævally correct, but of a style which has no prototype amongst, nor any connexion with, the ancient ecclesiastical buildings of the district; and which will only serve, æsthetically, as a memento of the rash destruction of an old national thing, not worn out, for the sake of a new one of foreign origin, jarring with every other of its fellows and neighbours. The *Nemesis* of this archæological and architectural mistake comes from this: that whereas a few hundreds of pounds (some four or five) would restore the old church, and make it serviceable for a couple of centuries, the new church will cost many hundreds, perhaps fourteen or fifteen; and, as it is to be erected by local builders upon modern principles of construction, there is a strong probability, judging from analogy and experience, that it will require abundant repairs before it has existed fifty years.

This is only one instance of the spirit of innovation and destruction which has of late years become so painfully manifest in Wales as well as England, and which will be treated of at greater length, and upon more general grounds, in another place. It is sufficient at present to have thus called the attention of the Cambrian Archæological Association to the subject.

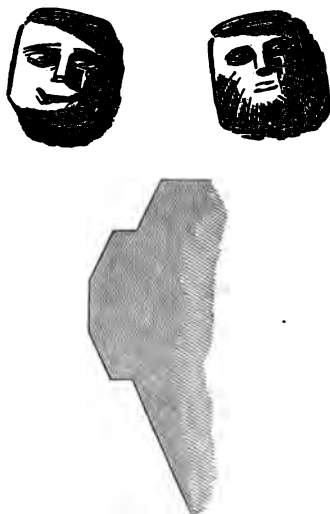
The church consists of a single aisle, which has probably been enlarged at a remote period, as far back as the fourteenth or fifteenth century; and this has again been greatly mutilated, under the idea of improvement, probably about the beginning of the eighteenth. At this latter period the old Pointed windows appear to have been considered too small, and others of the Williamite or Georgian styles were made to take their place; the great tie-beams that formed the bottom parts of the coupling triangles of the roof were then cut away, all but one left over the place where the altar once stood; a ceiling, plastered and coved, was made to hide the unfashionable timbering of the roof; pews of excellent oak, and of uniform design, were put up throughout; the screen, which most probably existed, as in all Montgomeryshire churches of old date, disappeared;



General View of Llandysaul Church.

dormer windows were put into the roof; and scarcely anything remained untouched except the wooden belfry erected inside the church and piercing through its roof.

At the east end of the church the large window preserves a few indications of its former condition: the mullions are all gone; but the sections of the jambs shew work not later than the early portion of the fifteenth century; and two heads, terminations of the drip-stone, of excellent and decided character, still remain.

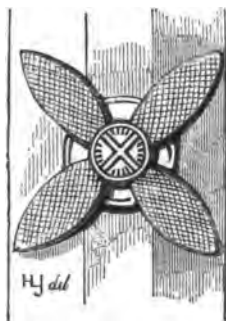


Details. E. Window.

Above this window, in the gable, there is a small Pointed arch of the same date, which probably served as a niche for a figure, though it may also have been intended to afford ventilation to the building through the roof. The walls are still solid and thick enough to admit of thorough repair at a small expense; the windows might be replaced by others equally light, if so the parishioners would have them, but more in harmony with the date of the old building; the ceiling ought to be removed, the timbered roof shewn, the tie-beams again introduced; the pews converted into panelling for the walls, or cut down and altered into less unchristian seats;

and the belfry either reopened into the body of the church, or screened off, as it might legitimately be, and made to serve the purpose, in its ground story, of a vestry. All this might be done at a cost of about £400.

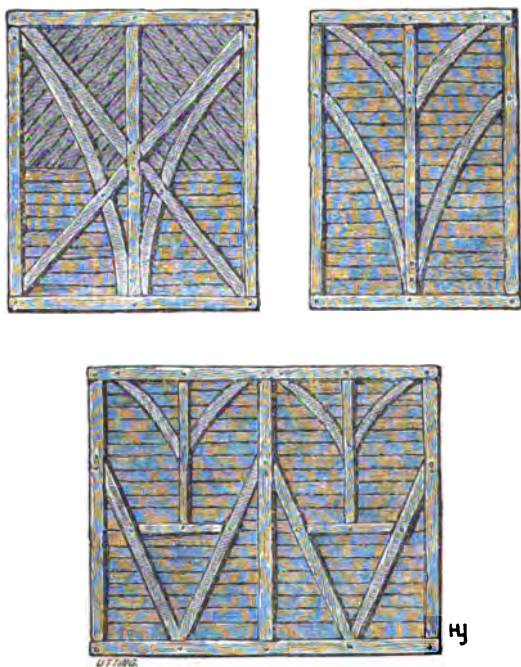
The tie-beam remaining above the communion-table is peculiar from its rising in the middle, and from its having a hollow chamfer on its western side,—that in sight of the congregation—decorated with bosses of good design. A large boss, with a cross on its under surface, occupies the centre: six smaller ones occur on the north side of this; seven on the south. Possibly the other tie-beams were not so much decorated; but in any case, whenever the materials of this church come to be removed, somewhat sacrilegiously, from the precincts of the consecrated ground, it is to be hoped that such a treasure as this beam may find a purchaser among persons anxious to restore or to decorate some ancient sacred edifice.



Bosses. Tie-Beam over Altar.

The striking feature of the church is the wooden belfry, which is constructed on principles once common in this part of Wales, and in parts of England where much timber existed; but now destined to become exceedingly scarce. Belfries of a similar kind, but not so large, nor so singular, nor so architecturally valuable, are to be found in the same county and in Radnorshire;

but the most beautiful examples exist in Picardy. There they are of more elegant and elaborate design, standing on stone bases; and there, too, the ecclesiastical and parochial authorities, alive to their importance, maintain them in good repair. This one, however, of Llandyssul is the best example extant in this county at the present moment; and for this, if for no other cause, it demands careful preservation.



Framework of Belfry, Llandyssul.

Without attempting to erect a tower, and to place the wooden frame-work of the belfry upon it, the old builders ran up a strong frame-work in two stories from the ground within, touching the western gable wall, piercing through the roof, and then expanding into a bell-chamber with an open gallery running round, and a double roof above. The construction will be easily understood from the accompanying engravings. The

upright timbers are mostly of trees about twelve inches square. Some of the cross-pieces are of trees split down the middle. The beams of the bell-chamber floor are solid trees. The scantlings of all, in fact, are massive in the extreme, and highly judicious. Probably from neglect, but not impossibly from too great boldness of construction, and the absence of internal stays or buttresses, the timbering has swayed and inclined considerably to the south side. This, though it gives the most strikingly picturesque effect, is a fault that ought to be remedied. Many of the pins and stanchions are decayed, and the whole requires careful overhauling and repairing. This task, however, is perfectly practicable at the cost of about £100.



West View of Llandyssul Church.

Other belfries similar to this, but not identical, exist at Llandinam and Manafon in this county. It is hard to conjecture their date: that of Llandinam being very possibly of the same date as its supporting stonework, viz., of the thirteenth century; and, indeed, the rudeness of the workmanship at Llandyssul, as well as the

circumstance of the erection being *inside* the walls of the church, betoken great age. Its construction will be again adverted to, in an account of other towers of the same kind, in the next number of the Journal. Meantime it is the duty of all lovers of old architecture in Wales to protest against the demolition of this curious piece of timber-work ; and certainly the parishioners, if they are irrevocably bent on the removal of the old church, will do well to save this western portion of it, to serve as a mortuary chapel.

But, supposing all this to be doomed to disappear for ever, the parishioners, to be consistent, should cut down the old yew tree,—it only darkens the ground ; sell the tombstones, or pave their yards with them,—they only commemorate past times. If they think it worth while to keep up any fence at all round the churchyard, they should erect some neat gate of new design, so that no unpleasant reminiscences of the ancient state of things may ever come as qualms over their consciences. If they could obtain a faculty from highest conservative authority in the diocese to destroy their old church, they might hope to obtain another to sanction any amount of obliteration ; for, when once the existing edifice has disappeared, then the Dissenting Chapel in a neighbouring lane will be the oldest place of worship in the parish.

H. L. J.

RELIC OF ANN BOLEYN.

Among the interesting articles exhibited in the Temporary Museum formed at Kington during the meeting of the Association in 1863, none attracted more attention than the little gold ornament here represented from a drawing made by Talbot Bury, Esq., F.S.A. Those who examined this curiosity will be able to judge of the accuracy of that gentleman's pencil. This article, of the same size as the cut, is in the form of a small pistol; serving also as a whistle, which, although not possessing the powers of those used by our railway-guards, yet produces sounds loud enough to have summoned pages or attendants to the royal presence. Underneath, fitting in like the blades of a common penknife, are three picks, for the ear, teeth, and nails. A serpent is encoiled round the butt.



Fortunately the history of this interesting relic has been carefully preserved in the family, a descendant of which is the present proprietor. This tradition tells us that it was a love-token from the eighth Henry to his second queen. According to the account, which appears to have been faithfully handed down in the family, it was given by that unfortunate lady to Captain Gwynn of Swansea (the officer to whose charge she was committed), in return for the kindness he had shewn her in the discharge of his duty. It has also been handed down by the successive possessors of the article, that, in giving it, she called his attention to the serpent,

remarking it had been indeed a serpent to her. Kyngston was, however, the Lieutenant of the Tower at this time; nor, as far as we are aware, is the name of Gwyn mentioned in any history. He was probably some inferior officer under the lieutenant,—perhaps in the double capacity of attendant and warder. It is, however, a fact that the relic remained in the possession of his family until the death of Richard Gwynn, the last of that branch, who died about the year 1750. From him it passed to his sister, who left it to her son, George Jones of Whiterock and Gray's Inn, London. The next owner was Mrs. Phillips, the sister of the said George Jones; and from her it passed to her daughter, Miss Phillips of Rutland Place, Swansea; who gave it to her great nephew, the Rev. W. L. Bevan, vicar of Hay, who has kindly furnished these details.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Ruthin.

ON THE DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

DURING the middle portion of the nineteenth century, from the beginning of the forty years' peace to the present day, a most remarkable reaction has set in, not only for the restoration and preservation of ancient buildings of all kinds, but especially for the repairing and reconstructing of edifices connected with ecclesiastical purposes. It took many years for the evil architectural traditions of preceding times to become even partially eradicated; and it is only of comparatively recent date that the renewal of sound architectural knowledge has been witnessed. Twenty years ago the principles of ancient construction were but little known in England, notwithstanding the labours of great architects and archæologists throughout Europe; and even at the present moment, in 1864, good buildings are still scarce, though the glaring faults of earlier days are now less frequently committed. It is, however, a mighty and a

beneficial movement that is going on, out of which it is to be hoped some permanent architectural good will ultimately result. Meantime, though we are restoring our cathedrals and erecting good parochial churches all over the land, we must put up with Palaces and Public Offices and Museums and Exhibition Buildings, etc., and be thankful that things are no worse.

The feelings from which this impulse of construction has arisen, are so laudable; the extended knowledge and improved taste which it evinces, are so valuable,—that though it may become necessary to correct, it is by no means desirable to exercise much repression. The architectural and archæological mind of European society is growing; and the best thing that can be done is to try and direct the progress making into a good channel. Though all bad buildings cannot be prevented from erection, nor all good ones saved from destruction, yet the pointing out of the true principles on which architecture, whether in old or new matters, ought to rest, may tend to spread sound information, and to restrain the indiscretions of over-zealous builders.

Such would seem to be one of the most appropriate functions of such a body as our Association, which at its annual meetings, and by means of its Journal, might spread information throughout all parts of Wales, and might turn the church building and repairing movement of the present day into a proper direction. Attempts of this kind have indeed been made, and eloquent appeals have been not without success in bringing about good works of preservation and of reconstruction. Llandaff Cathedral, Brecon Priory, Clynnog Fawr Collegial, and by and by St. David's Cathedral, will testify to the useful action and influence of the Cambrian Archæological Association. Carnarvon Castle owes its preservation to a cause antecedent to the existence of this Society; but it is to be hoped that other military and domestic edifices may be benefited by its influence; and it is certainly within its legitimate functions to encourage respect for the remains of former days, wherever practicable, all

over the Principality. By no means enough in the way of preservation has been done. The efforts of the Association have been neither long nor strong enough. Prompt and frequent action was probably seldom more needed than at the present moment; and it is with the view of encouraging this that the following observations are offered to the notice of members.

A praiseworthy feeling has now for some time existed among the gentry and clergy of Wales, first of all, for improving the old churches, and then for building new ones; and to the torpor of the eighteenth century has succeeded a feverish period of wide-spread restoration and construction. In most parishes, repairs of churches have been effected: in many the old churches have been replaced by others either wholly or in part new; in others, new churches in new districts have been erected. Everywhere architects and builders have been numerous employed. Funds have been raised in a wonderful manner, rates have been voted, subscriptions formed, donations received. There has not been much lack of means; but in too many instances there have been too great precipitancy and too little judgment. Too seldom have the questions been asked, "Can the old building be repaired and preserved?" "Can it be improved?" The common feeling has been that of razing existing edifices even to the ground. The contamination of example has been widely felt; and the appearance of a new church by a new architect has sufficed to set a whole county on the move, and to bring down the venerable stones of a dozen ancient fanes. Much may be said on the ground of the increase of population, of the wants of the Church, of the expansive tastes of the day, forcing men along whether they will or no; but, on the other hand, much may also be said on the score of economy, and much more may be advanced as to the respect due to the works of our forefathers, and as to the duty of maintaining monuments of national architecture.

The judicious treatment of an old building is generally a more difficult, scientific, and mechanical opera-

tion than the designing and erecting a new one. The spirit of innovation—one of the most uncontrollable in the human mind—the desire of emulating what has been done in other neighbourhoods,—the interested advice of architects and builders,—every thing militates against the preservation of an old church: all men go in favour of erecting a new one. Pockets suffer, but pride is gratified; taste and especially zeal are taken credit for. The old church finds no friends: though it might be well repaired for a few hundreds, it is “condemned,” as the trade term goes. The new one is “contracted for” at the cost of a few thousands; and the parishioners have the gratification, after paying builder and architect, of witnessing a great “opening,” and of flaunting their superiority in the faces of their neighbours. It has ever been so indeed. During the middle ages this spirit was very rife. It was then, how much could be done: after the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, it was how little. But still parish contended against parish, architects rose to fame, builders to opulence; and yet grievous injury was done to historical architecture, much uprooting of veneration was caused, many seeds of revolution sown. There is little doubt that buildings of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries might have come down to us in greater abundance than they have, and that the cause of architectural progress would have been promoted, but for the somewhat wholesale process of change which was adopted towards buildings at the end of the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries. There is a conventual building in Wales, the lintels of the windows of one of the rooms of which consist of sculptured crosses torn from the neighbouring cemetery; and some of our most curious early inscriptions have been found used as cills in similar positions in parish churches; while many a richly ornamented doorway remains to tell of the grandeur of the old edifice, and contrast with the comparative poverty of its successor of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

The spirit, then, of innovation is not peculiar to this present age. All that remains to be done is to reason against its extravagances, and point out how, if innovation must be carried on, the smallest amount of injury may be done.

It is, perhaps, appealing to a low spirit of economy, if it is attempted to shew those, who must needs rebuild their churches or their houses,—for few now think of rebuilding or repairing a castle, notwithstanding its architectural and historical deserts,—that they may make themselves better judges of the worth and permanence of materials than they are allowed by their advisers to be. Builders and architects are very fond of condemning old walls and old timbers, whereas cracks and protuberances may be generally well remedied by buttressing; and the great aim of architectural effect, light and shade, variety of outline, and the display of means, much promoted. Walls in churches are often found to totter inwards or outwards. Often this results from the original construction, as accurate measurement will demonstrate; but if it comes from ancient settlement, this very fact of its antiquity testifies to its durability. Some hang over, or threaten from above. If this results from old thrusts in the roof, the re-bracing of the roofs, or the buttressing of the walls, will obviate the chances of further degradation. It is not so easy to prove the badness of an old wall as people commonly think. Let it be treated kindly, and the mass of masonry will still remain, and do good work for centuries. Again, all architects run their heads against old roof-timbering, and the common accusation of rottenness is frequent in their mouths. Parts, indeed, are frequently decayed,—such as the lower ends of principals, where they touch the wall-plate; but in no part of the timbering is repair more easy, and a good shore, or lower joint, may be added or inserted, so as to make the main triangle of resistance as rigid as ever. If the timber is well probed all over with augers, its actual condition may soon be ascertained, and possibly the cost of a new roof avoided.

An instance of the above has occurred within the last few years in North Wales, where a village church, two-aisled, and of good dimensions, of the fifteenth century, altered and injured in the seventeenth, was condemned, stones and timber, by an eminent architect from London. Before finally adopting his scheme of a tolerably large amount, though by no means inordinate for a new church, the walls were sounded and the timbers probed. The result was a settlement with the architect, but a declining of his plan. The building was taken in hand by the clergyman and a friend: the village mason, carpenter, and blacksmith, were called in: no builder nor clerk of the works was employed: the walls were buttressed, and the whole church was solidly restored: windows remullioned, and rejambed wherever necessary, some new ones inserted: all the old seats removed, and used up again to form new ones, nothing but oak being employed: the floor tiled plain throughout, the roof recovered: the timberings all repaired, cleaned, and varnished: the coveings of the aisles repainted and gilded; the whole at a cost of a little more than £700. Since then painted glass has been contributed for the principal windows, and the rest have been plainly diapered; the general result being the preservation of the old building greatly improved, and the resources of the parish carefully husbanded.

As a matter of taste, the preservation of ancient forms has now so universally obtained the preference over the invention of new ones, that it is hardly worth while to observe that the real æsthetic effect of an ancient building is almost always more satisfactory than that of a new one. Church restorers, indeed, commonly stipulate with architects for the preservation, as much as possible, of parts of the old edifice. The point is, indeed, conceded, and its consideration is nearly superfluous. Thus much may be noted, however, that even a new church may be greatly disguised by the readaptation of old windows, old doorways, and any old sculptured portions. It is a common architectural device, and an allowed

one ; for though economy is not much consulted, consciences are thereby soothed, and a show kept up of reverencing the tokens of ancient constructive skill.

The general ground on which the battle of ancient against modern architecture is to be fought, is that of historical propriety. In every nation, and especially in locally marked sections of a nation, distinctive features of general and local architecture prevail. At all periods of time, the architecture of any epoch is a positive and express embodiment of the wants and feelings of the age. It becomes an historical exponent of the popular mind at the time of its construction, and it remains as a proof and evidence of that mind in after ages. Egypt and Assyria live for us chiefly in their monuments: India and China bear testimony to the same purport: the mounds of Mexico utter a feeble voice with a similar echo ; and the whole story of European civilisation receives one of its most striking illustrations from those noble edifices which modern days have been unable to surpass. What expresses more faithfully the degradation of religious feeling in England, from the revolution of 1688 down to the end of the great Napoleonic war, than the continually advancing degradation of church architecture ? What can more convincingly prove the sordidness of the public mind than the outward forms of street architecture during the whole of the Georgian period ? We have now the honour of living in an eminently constructive period. Notwithstanding want of skill and recklessness of means, the Victorian reign will mark an epoch of architectural regeneration ; and possibly some new and original and distinctive style may yet arise to perpetuate the evidence of that revival of religion, morals, knowledge, science, and taste, which will constitute the title of this present century to the respect of succeeding ones.

Every building, then, by the mere fact of age, by the mere circumstance of having served its purpose long, and having been allowed by man to stand, acquires more or less of an historic character, and becomes part of the

product of the national intelligence. It almost becomes national property, and at all events it becomes entitled to national respect,—“*Reverere veterem gloriam, et hanc ipsam vetustatem, quæ, in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra est.*” How well do these words of the younger Pliny represent the feelings which the intelligent antiquary, the philosophic historian, the true patriot, cannot but entertain! The mere fact of antiquity, the mere evidence of the mind of man having given expression to a monument by his hand,—this constitutes a claim upon the respect of future men as long as materials shall, in the course of nature, physically cohere and endure. Those who respect not the past, Guizot well observes, have no title, no hope for the future; and if coming architecture is worth caring for, past architecture is worth preserving.

To a certain extent, while this argument will be, and is indeed commonly, admitted by minds of scientific and historic resources, and by the majority of educated men, it may be almost damaged by the claim which may be grounded on it for preserving even architectural abuses; and it is better to concede the principle honestly than try to evade it, on the principles of modern logic. It is better to grant at once that St. Paul's, though full of architectural shifts and untruths, ought to stand, and is one of the grandest buildings in Europe. It is the noblest embodiment we have of the state of the national mind at the close of the seventeenth century. Wren's churches all over London should be allowed to stand. They are true and honest after their fashion: true exponents of public taste, honest evidences of the constructive powers of the times when they sprang up. They ought never to be imitated,—*certainly never*,—for they will never, it may be hoped, have as their substratum such a degree of public taste and morals as coincided with their erection. Even the old pews in many a country church—those glories of extinct churchwardens, those traces of fossil parochial authorities—demand a certain degree of respect. They are specimens of

national taste, more or less historic: they are associated with hallowed and endearing domestic recollections: they are frames of pictures wherein memory would fondly place venerated ancestors, well-known and beloved grandsires, parents, and brothers. Unless their removal be positively for the avoidance of some crying evil, to be replaced by some patent good, much better and more comely than many of the meagre and uncomfortable seats, such as the middle ages never knew, but now so commonly put up in their stead, even the removal of old pews of good, sound work and substantial materials becomes a matter for second thought. Intense mediævalism and intense conservatism are not always coincident principles; and it is possible that as much destruction may be effected under the former, as obstruction perpetuated under the latter. Many a church has had its Carolinian pews removed for the sake of seats intrinsically not so good, and not fulfilling their ostensible purpose (that of accommodating the poor), because the poor do not, and possibly will not, come to them.

While this seeming apology may be made for the works of periods when honest building and honest carpentry, however uncouth and unsightly, existed, it need not be extended to periods, when dishonesty became the rule, and when selfishness and parsimony, under the garb of sanctimony, were the guiding principles. It cannot extend to the age of *compo* and *deal*. The age of iron is not yet, though it may very well become hereafter, entitled to it. Wherever brick covered with *compo*, and deal painted or unpainted, exist, there the horrid, unchristian principle of pure utilitarianism is manifest, and destruction is self-pronounced. We cannot destroy *all* the traces of late Georgian architecture, nor is it right that we should: some of it must remain, if only to prove our national disgrace. But while Bath should be carefully preserved as an honourable example of the taste of the second half of the eighteenth century, Brighton with its Pavilion may very well be swallowed up by the Channel waves, as a flaunting specimen of the profligate early days of the nineteenth.

Though the public mind is coming round to juster views of national pride and historic propriety, yet the very excess of reactionary zeal has produced evils which require checking. Granting that old churches must, in some instances, be rebuilt; that new ones, as in the metropolis and thickly peopled manufacturing districts, must be erected,—the question occurs, “What style should be adopted, what models should be followed?” And herein the public mind has been misled by false example, because not sufficiently informed to judge for itself; and, in fact, having no common nor even broadly based principles of action. The united wisdom of the legislature, brought into action too soon, has been unable to produce anything better than the New Palace of Westminster, the only good features of which are height and length, obtained at the sacrifice of the main objects for which it was erected. How strange that men of intelligence, having their steps ever delaying in such an edifice as Westminster Hall, should not have become inspired by the *genius loci*, and have caused something to be erected worthy of standing by its side! How strange that they should have failed to catch the dignified and broad principles of construction shewn in the adjoining Abbey, and have contented themselves with blinding their eyes by the panel-work of the seventh Henry’s Chapel! When it became a question of erecting some kind of public official building which might shew to Europe our national architectural resources, a mongrel foreign edifice, of meretricious effect, was decided on, in deference to the predilections of an agreeable man of the world. When those time-honoured abodes of academic grandeur, Oxford had to put up two Museums, and Cambridge had to build another and a Library, nothing better nor more appropriate than the classic deformity of the Taylor Institute, the pattern-book of the New Museum in the one, the insipid Public Library and the porticoed Fitzwilliam Museum, in the other, have arisen. It is true that, though Baliol Chapel has been rebuilt as it is, and Merton Quad-

range has been threatened, Exeter Chapel (a foreign but a good importation) has come to redeem the architectural character of one University; while St. John's Chapel in the other is obliged to be erected for the sake of preserving the balance of rival propriety.

Another disturbing influence has been felt, greatly injurious to the preservation of national architecture and to the formation of a new national style,—that which may be traced to the imperfect knowledge and false appreciation of Italian mediæval styles, such as is evinced by the partisans of what may be termed the Ruskinite School. The specimens of bad and inappropriate foreign taste now originating among the younger architects, who do not understand either Italy or Europe, and who try to bring in colour *per fas et nefas*, are disfiguring every town that wants new shop-fronts or new municipal halls, and are leading away the eye of the public till it has almost tolerated the abomination of the late Brompton Exhibition.

There are local and historic peculiarities to be maintained in new erections as well as in repairs, which must be observed under pain of architectural retrogression; and in this respect great damage has already occurred within the Principality of Wales. The architecture of our country is strongly marked by local peculiarities. The humble church of the mountain district, with its plain bell-gable and its low but massive single aisle; the double-aisled church sometimes towered, sometimes not, of the Clwydian vale; the timbered belfries of Montgomeryshire; the semi-military towers of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, and Cardigan; and the tall towers rarely spired, and altogether *sui generis*, of Pembrokeshire,—all these mark historic traditions of the national condition of Wales, which ought not only to be preserved, but should also strongly influence the erection of any new buildings to be put with them in juxtaposition. Instead of this, when recourse is had to a distant, often to a metropolitan architect, the building committee are treated to designs fitted for the marshes

of Essex or the wolds of Lincolnshire, or the streets of the Metropolis. Perhaps they are the rejected designs of some London competition; perhaps they are what the architect thinks would look well *anywhere* (and *therefore* certainly not in so peculiar a country as Wales). Almost always a spire or spirette is introduced, to the great mystification of simple-minded building committees; almost always an elaborate east window that *must* be filled with painted glass; rarely, if ever, is the local style of the district consulted; rarely, if ever, are the requirements of surrounding scenery thought of. There is a spire on such a church, under such a tall mountain, where the eye is so absorbed by the natural grandeur of the scene that it can hardly afford a glance to see whether a church exists or not. In another locality is a thing done from a rough sketch of some reminiscence of an Alpine *chalet*. In one notable instance a wealthy founder gets hold of engravings of all the churches in the world, and puts up windows, capitals, piers, niches, figure-heads, tower, spire, marble, alabaster, iron, bronze, painted glass, fresco, etc., for a humble congregation of a few half-scared rustics, who are afraid, and from other motives unwilling, to go near the grand, new church. In one county the rage had recently set in for pulling down all the old belfries, churches and all; moving them to new sites, etc.; and the authorities were all against the old buildings! With difficulty has a spoke been thrust into their wheel; but it is not yet certain whether even this may not snap, and the down-hill descent become irresistible.

H. L. J.

(To be continued.)

OLD RADNOR FONT.—LYONSHALL FONT.

THE church of Old Radnor, situated on the summit of a rock, known by the Welsh as Pen-y-craig, is an edifice worthy the visit of the excursionist, not merely on account of the building itself, but for three remarkable objects it contains.

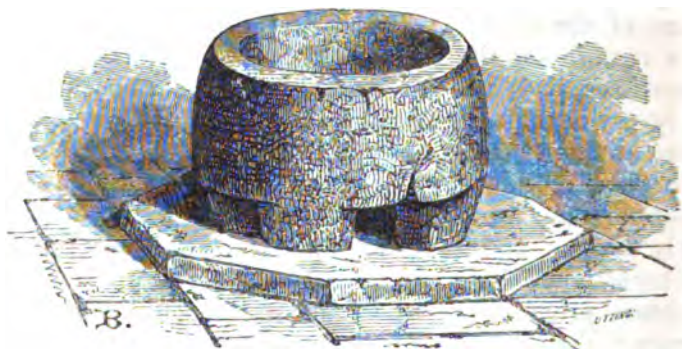
The first of these is the richly ornamented screen, stretching across the aisles and nave, an engraving of which is found in the fourth volume of the present series (p. 244) of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. The second is the remarkable organ case of the early part of the reign of Henry VIII, said to be one of the three remaining specimens of that date in England and Wales. The third object, although not presenting to the casual observer anything remarkable, is the huge font, cut out of a single block of porphyritic rock, a faithful illustration of which is here given, and for which the Association is indebted to the able pencil of T. Talbot Bury, Esq., F.S.A. Although the author of the *History of Radnorshire* appears to have been in general an accurate observer, yet he has, apparently, taken no notice of this curious relic in his description of the church (*Arch. Camb.*, 1858); nor, as far as we are aware, is it noticed in any other work, except that in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* we are informed that "the font is of large dimensions, carved out of a single stone." Carving, however, is hardly an applicable term, where the rudest chipping seems to have been employed in hewing the mass into its present form. No trace of even an attempt at moulding or ornament exists, which is the more remarkable, as great care was usually employed on our earliest fonts, whatever poor and meagre work is considered sufficient for the same purpose in what may be called the dark period of later days, when anything that holds water is thought sufficient.

The hardness of the material may perhaps account

for the absence of ornamental detail or mouldings, although it seems to have had no influence as regards the cutting away the under portions to form the rude legs or supporters, or the hollowing out the basin, which is of such large dimensions as to indicate the immersion of the baptised, and that, too, on a very liberal scale. Of the great antiquity, however, of this font, although wanting details which might indicate any particular period, there can be no doubt, nor is there any reason why it may not be considered as one of the oldest fonts in existence. The only tradition connected with it is, that it was formed out of one of the large stones constituting what is called a "Druidic" monument, in the valley below the hill, named the "Fourstones," that being the number now remaining. The font is said to be of the same kind of rock, not being the stone of the district; and as two other similar masses now remain on the slope between the church and the fourstones, it is not impossible but that at some very early period attempts have been made to convey one or more of these masses up the hill to the church. We are not aware of what antiquity the name of "Fourstones" is—but some allusion to it may possibly be found in early deeds. In similar instances, such as at Trellech, "Threestones," in Monmouthshire, and elsewhere, documentary proof exists as to the very great age of such names; thus indicating that at very remote periods, nothing was known of the traditional or real nature of such monuments, beyond that they were stones of a certain number. If "Fourstones" is a term of corresponding antiquity, and if the font was hewn out of one of the original group which probably consisted of seven or eight stones, the antiquity of the font must be very considerable. Camden states that the destruction of this monument took place in the reign of John, when the district was ravaged by Rhys ap Gruffyd. Why the chieftain should destroy a monument of which he ought, as a Welshman, to have been proud, is not so clear. But even if no existing document proves that the name

of "Fourstones" is older than the reign of John, yet the general character and proportions of the font point to a period far anterior.

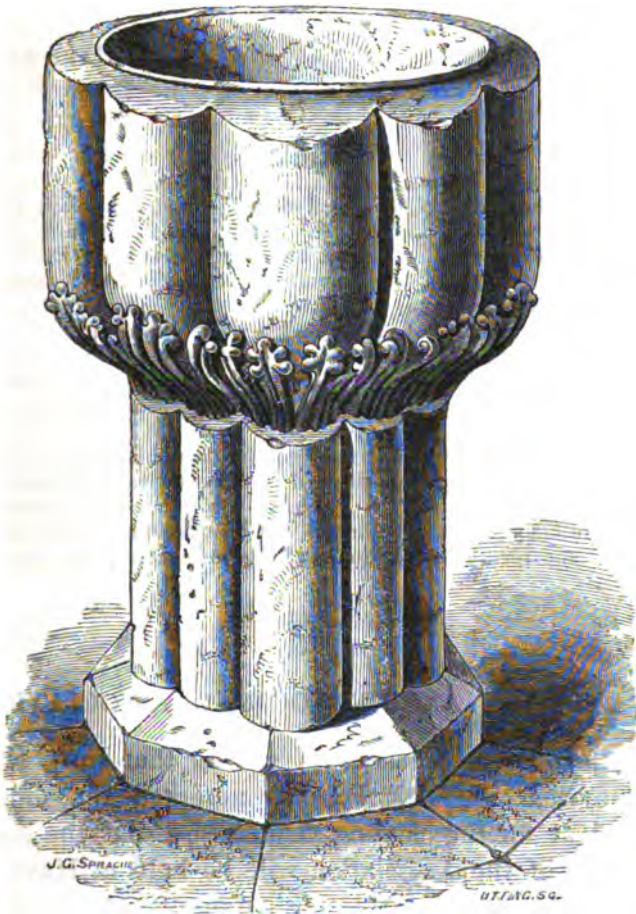
The present church of the fifteenth century contains various relics of a preceding one of the thirteenth. This earlier edifice itself no doubt had also predecessors, for New Radnor, which supplanted Old Radnor, existed, at least, in the early part of the twelfth century, if not earlier. The situation of the building, also on the summit of the hill, to some degree favours the notion that a church may have existed here from the earliest times, if, as is generally admitted, the first missionaries often established their churches on the sites of Pagan monuments so frequently found on such elevated spots. In more than one instance in



Old Radnor Font.

Wales, we have undoubted proofs of churches having existed on the sites of the present buildings, from the fifth and sixth centuries, if such is the true date assigned to inscribed stones found worked up in the walls of the existing churches. Such may have been the case with Old Radnor, and as we know little of the nature of fonts of such times, there is at least a possibility that the rude gigantic font of Old Radnor (the dimensions of which are five feet external diameter by one foot deep in the bowl, and three feet external height) may be a relic of the first church erected on this spot.

For the sake of comparison, we give a cut of a font of the thirteenth century, from an accurate drawing kindly made for the occasion, by Mr. T. G. Sprague, of Kington. This font, at present covered with a green mould, is inconveniently hidden among the unsightly



Lyonsshall Font.

pews which disfigure the interesting church of Lyons-hall, visited by the Association during the Kington meeting. The contrast between two fonts so near each

other, would be more remarkable but for the fact that one is on English the other on Welsh ground; but, however graceful the English one may be, there is such a charm of mystery connected with that of Old Radnor, that the visitor, who cannot manage to examine both, will probably prefer the longer and steeper route to Old Radnor church.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Obituary.

JOHN FENTON, Esq., of Glynymel near Fishguard, has left us since the publication of our last number. His frequent contributions to the Journal of the Association, by pen and pencil, his always ready cooperation and advice, and his accurate topographical and antiquarian information, will cause his loss to be felt. He joined our Association among the very first, and always took a great interest in our proceedings and meetings. We hope that his papers will be properly taken care of, and that along with those of Mr. Aneurin Owen (with whom he was connected by marriage), will, some of them at least, be published in our pages.

Mr. Fenton was an excellent and careful draughtsman; very observant of all the minor peculiarities of antiquarian remains which commonly escape notice, and his portfolios must therefore be more than usually valuable. It is to be hoped that his example of long-continued research and record may be followed by our contemporaries and successors.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

WE have great pleasure in stating that JOHN HENRY SCOURFIELD, Esq., M.P., has accepted the office of President for the ensuing year. Also that the Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at Haverfordwest, and will begin Monday August 22nd.

Particulars of the proposed arrangements will appear in our next number.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.—1863.

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE AND RECEIPTS.

EXPENDITURE.		RECEIPTS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Printing	- 175 16 9	January 1, 1863. By balance in Treasurer's hands -	- 61 18 6
" Editor of <i>Archæologia Cambrensis</i>	- 50 0 0	" ditto, Kingdon Meeting -	- 12 15 10
" Wood Engraving	- 24 13 0	" Subscriptions -	- 265 6 0
" Steel ditto	- 23 7 0		
" Postages and carriage of parcels	- 7 0 2		£339 19 4
" Incidental expenses	- 3 19 0		
" Balance in Treasurer's hands	- 55 3 5		
	£339 19 4		

Audited and found correct.

JNO. WILLIAMS } *Auditors for*
JOHN MORGAN } 1863.

JOSEPH JOSEPH, F.S.A., *Treasurer.*

Brecon. St. David's Day, 1864.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In your last number there is a letter from Mr. Stephens on Llywarch Hen and Uriconium, in which he expresses a wish to know exactly what poems of Llywarch Hen are to be found in the *Llyfr du*, or Black Book of Carmarthen. I have just completed printing the contents of that MS. and of other three MSS., containing the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century, viz., the *Book of Aneurin*, the *Book of Taliessin*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*; and, as I am thus familiar with the contents of these MSS., it will give me pleasure to afford Mr. Stephens or any of your readers information regarding them.

The *Black Book of Carmarthen* contains three poems usually attributed to Llywarch Hen.

1. At folio 36A., a poem bearing the title of "Gereint fil. Erbin", and containing eighteen triplets in the stanza known as the *Tribanau Milwyr*. The author of the poem is not named, but it is substantially the same as the poem attributed to Llywarch Hen, called "Marwnad Geraint" in the *Red Book of Hergest*, there being merely an occasional variation in the order of the stanzas.

2. The second is at folio 45A. It is not the same as any poem in the *Red Book of Hergest*, but in the printed copies it is woven into a poem termed "Tribanau" (*Myv. Ar.*, p. 129). Of this poem, from stanza 16, beginning "Llym awel llum brin" to the end, are in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. The eleven stanzas immediately preceding are in the *Red Book of Hergest*.

3. The third is at folio 54A., with the title "Enwev. Meibon Llywarch Hen." It is not the same poem as one on the same subject in the *Red Book of Hergest*, but the two poems have, as in the preceding case, been woven into one poem in the printed copies (*Myv. Arch.*, p. 114; *Owen*, p. 119). The poem in the *Black Book* consists of stanzas 45, 59, and from 67 to 76 inclusive. The poem in the *Red Book* consists of the remaining stanzas.

It is remarkable that, while Dr. Owen Pughe, in his edition of Llywarch Hen's poems, has no reference to readings in the *Black Book* in the poems in his edition which are really to be found there, in six poems which are not to be found in the *Black Book*, the foot of the page is full of references to the *Llyfr du* for various readings. These various readings, so far as I have been able to judge, correspond with the *Red Book of Hergest*, while those attributed to the *Llyfr coch* are not to be found there.

It appears to me that the poem in the *Black Book* entitled "Enwev meibon Llywarch Hen", could not have been written by the same person who wrote the poem called "Marwnad Urien," attributed also to Llywarch Hen, and to be found in the *Red Book*.

I agree in the main with Mr. Stephens's criticism of Mr. Nash and Mr. Wright.

¹ It is necessary to explain that the Welsh quoted from the *Black Book of Carmarthen* is in the orthography of the MS.

Mr. Stephens has added a translation of the well-known stanzas in the Cambridge *Juvenius*, with which, however, I cannot quite agree; but this arises, in part, from the text which he has taken from Llwyd not being perfectly correct. I have repeatedly examined the Cambridge *Juvenius* with very great care, and I have also had the benefit of a very minute and careful examination of this interesting MS., made by a most competent judge, viz., Henry Bradshaw, Esq., of King's College, Cambridge. Our object was not only to obtain a perfectly correct text of these well-known stanzas, but also to decipher, if possible, another and longer poem written on the first page in the same character and autograph; but before giving you the correct text of these poems, so far as we could make them out, perhaps you would allow me to say a few words as to the MS. itself.

The MS. of *Juvenius* came to the library in 1648, from Dr. Richard Houldsworth, master of Emanuel College, who died in that year, and bequeathed his library to the University. It was first catalogued and put on the shelves in 1663, with the rest of Dr. Houldsworth's books. On the first leaf there is in the hand-writing of Richard Amadas, who was a clergyman in Essex, and died in 1637, the words "Paraphrasis in Evangelia", with the figures "1233", and at the end; in the same hand-writing, "*Juvenius Presbyter in 4 Evangelia, Anno 1233.*" On the first page is the name "Mr. Price", and in the same hand a reference to *Juvenius* from "James Usher, Bp. of Meathes book, fol. 349." Now Usher was only Bishop of Meath for a few years, from 1624 to 1627, and in a book published by him in 1624, called the *Answer to a Jesuit*, there is a citation of *Juvenius* at p. 349, so that the MS. must have belonged to Mr. Price about that time. There was a John Price, noticed in Williams's *Biography of Eminent Welshmen*, born in London, of Welsh parents in 1600, who was elected from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1617, afterwards turned Papist and went to Paris. He seems to have made Usher's acquaintance in Ireland, and it is believed there are some of his letters in Usher's printed correspondence. From him, Dr. Houldsworth probably got the MS., with other books, when the troubles began, while John Price, being a Welshman, probably procured it in Wales.*

It is a large quarto MS. of 52 leaves of parchment, and is unquestionably of the ninth century. The text is written in a bold and free character, and is in the same handwriting throughout. The colophon at the end, in the same handwriting, is—

"expliquit quattuor Evangelia
a Juvenio presbytero
pene ad verbum translata
Arat dinuadu."

I.e., "a prayer for Nuadu." The lines of the text have glosses in Welsh, written over them in a smaller hand in the Saxon or Irish character. On the first page in the same character, is a poem consisting of nine lines, each line forming a triplet, commencing with the

* I am indebted to Mr. Bradshaw for much of this information.

words "*Omnipotens auctor*", and of which the Vicomte de Villemarqué could only read the last three words, "*Molim map Meir.*" At the top of the pages 48, 49, and 50 are, in the same hand-writing and character, the celebrated stanzas beginning "*nigurocosam*", and on the last page are, in the same hand-writing and character, fifty lines of Latin hexameters, of which the words "*dignissime Fethgna*" can alone be distinguished. We have thus the text of the MS. connected with the name "Nuadu", and the two Welsh poems connected with the name "Fethgna", to which the epithet of *dignissime* is attached. Both of these names are Irish in their form, and it is somewhat remarkable that there was an important person in the ninth century in Ireland, whose name was Fethgna. This was Fethgna, who was Bishop of Armagh for twenty-two years, and died in 874. His death is thus recorded, under that year, in the *Annals of Ulster*: "*Fethgna Episcopus haeres Patricii, caput religionis totius Hiberniae in Prid. Non. Octobris in pace quievit*"; and it is also remarkable, that one of his predecessors in the Bishopric of Armagh in the same century, was Nuadu, whose death is thus recorded, "A.D. 811 Nuadha of Loch Uamha Bishop, anchorite and abbot of Ardmacha, died.

If Fethgna Bishop of Armagh, is the "*dignissime Fethgna*" of the MS., then the two Welsh poems must have been transcribed during his occupation of the Bishopric from 852 to 874; but how came a MS. containing Welsh glosses and Welsh poems³ to be connected with Armagh and their Bishops. The only clue to this, which strikes me, is the following. During the time of Fethgna, Armagh was almost totally destroyed by the Danes. In 850, "Armagh was devastated by the foreigners." In 867, "Ardmacha was plundered and burned with its oratories by Amhlach. Ten hundred was the number there cut off, both by wounding and suffocation, besides all the property and wealth which they found there was carried off by them." It was restored again by Fethgna. Now, in the *Brut y Tywysogion* of Caradoc of Llancarvan, there is the following passage: 883 a'r un flwyddyn y bu farw Cydifor abad Llanfeithin gwr doeth a dysgedig oedd efe a mawr ei dduwioldeb. Efe a ddanfones chwech o wyr doethion ei gor i ddodi addysc i Wyddelod y Werddon. "And the same year Cydivor Abbot of Llanveithin (or Llancarvan) died a wise and learned man and of great piety. *He sent six learned men of his abbey to Ireland to instruct the Irish.*" Surely they were sent in consequence of the destruction of the seats of learning in Ireland by the Danes, and thus may some learned Welshmen have been brought in contact with the Bishops of Armagh. This would connect the MS. with Llancarvan, and it may have been got from thence on the suppression of the monasteries. I see no reason for connecting it especially with the North. The character is the Saxon or Irish which was used all over England before the Gothic writing began. The language is of the pure Welsh type of the period, and is opposed to what we know *aliunde* of Pictish forms.⁴ I have

³ The principal text of MS. must have been written by a Welshman, as the word "*Araut*" in the colophon is the Cymric and not the Gaelic form.

⁴ I allude to the *gu*, for which Pictish seems to have substituted *f*.

always been of opinion myself, that the three well-known stanzas bear evident marks of having been the work of the same author who wrote the *Marwnad Cynddylan*. It is written in the same metre, there are the same expressions, it is pervaded by the same sentiment, and in both is the expression of "Franc" used, and I am not aware of its occurrence in any other poem. It would almost seem as if these poems of the ninth century had been preserved for the purpose of refuting Mr. T. Wright. He objects to the metre of "*Marwnad Cynddylan*, as having been introduced by the Normans, and to the use of the word 'Franc', as being post-Norman." Yet, here are both in a poem of the ninth century. The text of these poems is as follows:—

"I. POEM ON PAGE FIRST.

- "1. *Omnipotens auctor*
Ti dicones adiamor
P . . (*cut off*) . .
2. Nit arcup betid hicouid
Canlon cetticeidin gui—haguid
Uor—rdutou ti gufroned
3. Dicones *pater* harimed
Presen isabruid icunmer
Nisacup m—arcup leder
4. Dicones *Ihesu* dielimlu
pbetid aguiridou pendibu
guotcapaur anmer—adu
5. Gur dicones remedau
Elbid angurit anguraut
Niguru gnim molim trinta [ut]
6. It cluis inban iciman
Guorsed ceimmicun ucmout ran
Ucatrintaut bean trinent [an]
7. It cluis it humil inhared calmed
Bit pucsaun mi detrintaut
gurd meint iconidid imolaut
8. Rit ercis o — raut inadaut
Presen pioubui int groisauc
Inungueid guoled trintaut
9. Un hanied napuil heper
Uuc nem isnem nitcouer
Nit guorgnim molim map meir

II. POEM ON PAGES 48, 49, AND 50.

1. Niguorcosam nemheunaur—henoid
Mitelu nit gurmaur
Mi amfranc dam ancalaaur
2. Nicanu niguardam nicusam—henoid
Cet iben med nouel
Mi amfranc dam anpatel
3. Mamercit mi nep leguenid—henoid
Is discyrr mi coueidid
Dou nam riceus unguetid"¹

¹ "There are only two words that are doubtful. *Nicanu* in the fourth line may be read *Nicanil*; and if so, it is probably transposed, and should

I had intended making some remarks upon Mr. Stephens's translation of the second poem, but it is difficult to do so when it is not accompanied by any explanatory notes shewing how the words are understood by him to express the meaning he gives them, and perhaps, after considering the correct text and the modifications it must produce in his rendering, he will still do so, as well as give us his view of the probable rendering of the first poem. I may, however, remark that I read the third line as "Mi a'm Franc dam an calaur", I and my Franc around (*dam*, so in composition), our (*an*, old form for *ein*), kettle. I think the previous line "my household is not large", refers to there being only two persons. Then, in the last line, I consider the rendering of "Dou" by "God", as inadmissible. I am not aware of any stage in Welsh orthography where *Duw* could be written *Dou*. It is the old form of "*Dau*", two, and seems to refer to the same two persons.

The preceding line I am inclined to read "My song is a lament." "Disgyrr", a wail a lament; "Cowyddaid", a song. *Cyweithydd* would certainly never be written in old Welsh with *d* for *th*.

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

20, Inverleith Row, Edinburgh, 19th February, 1864.

LLYWARCH HEN AND URICONIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The July number of the *Arch. Camb.* contained a paper written by Mr. Thomas Wright, and giving us his opinion on some recent speculations relative to the destruction of Uriconium. The speculations on which he passed judgment, and which he ascribed to a certain unnamed "antiquary," were identical with those I had myself shortly before published on the same subject. As he informed us that his remarks were written before the appearance of my paper, the reader might be led to suppose that I had appropriated another man's labours without acknowledgment, and I therefore considered myself entitled to ask Mr. Wright to favour me with the name of the "antiquary" he alluded to. I have looked in vain through the last number of the *Archæologia* for his reply, and am therefore driven to conclude that in stating his remarks to have been written, as he "need hardly add, before the appearance of Dr. Guest's paper," he was labouring under some hallucination of memory. Having, I trust, cleared myself from any suspicions that may have been excited in the reader's mind by a perusal of Mr. Wright's paper, I will now proceed to examine the strange and novel theory he has propounded. In this task, I have been in some degree anticipated by Mr. Stephens, *Arch. Camb.*, No. XXXVII, p. 62; but the statements of this gentleman are often so strangely inaccurate, and his reasoning, at least to

be placed at the end of the line, so as to correspond in rhyme with the words *novel* and *patel*. The letter represented by *y* in *discyrr* is a peculiar letter, which may represent one of the Saxon forms for *y*, or the Irish contraction for *ui*, in which case the word will read *discuirr*."

my mind, so inconclusive, that I am unwilling to adopt him as the exponent of my own views on the subject. I therefore send my paper as it was originally written, even at the risk of being thought occasionally to repeat Mr. Stephens's arguments.

According to Mr. Wright, the *Marwnad* which Welsh scholars have hitherto looked upon as written by Llywarch Hen in the sixth century, was really written by a Welsh minstrel in the fifteenth. He supposes the minstrel to have been acquainted with the ruins of Uriconium, and to have concocted the story of its destruction by the English, in order to sharpen the animosity of the Welsh, during the outburst of feeling, which followed the rising of Owen Glendower. He considers the forgery to be betrayed by the topographical blunders which the writer has committed; and so eager is he to expose these blunders that he tells us he "will not dwell upon the fact, that the whole elegy is written in a form of verse, which was only introduced by the Normans in the twelfth century." It is hardly wise in Mr. Wright to be so lavish of his resources. If he prove "the fact," he at the same time proves the forgery. I have had a good deal to do with English and Norman rhythms, but have not yet succeeded in finding the Norman rhythm which could have given birth to the *triban milwr*. The *triban milwr* is the oldest known form of Celtic versification, and as I have ventured to state elsewhere (*Hist. of Engl. Rhythms*, i, 120), probably suggested the use of final rhyme to the Latinists of the third and fourth centuries, who first introduced it, and most of whom were Celts by birth. But the best mode of dealing with Mr. Wright's scepticism, is to refer him, as Mr. Stephens has done, to the Juvenius MS. This MS., which may be found—not in the Bodleian Library, as Mr. Stephens tells us, but—in the Public Library at Cambridge, contains certain Welsh stanzas written in the *triban milwr*. They are well known to scholars, and both in style and subject so strongly resemble the *Marwnad* in question, that it has been conjectured they once formed a portion of it. Lhuyd, who discovered them, considered them to be the earliest specimen of Welsh that had fallen under his notice. Zeuss introduces them as exhibiting "constructionis metricæ communem faciem Celticam et specialem memoratam Cambricam," and moreover, "primam linguae Cambricæ ætatem" scriptione et formis grammaticalibus prodentes" *Gramm. Celt.* ii, 946; while Villemarqué, who some nine years ago came over to England expressly to examine this MS., pronounces the writing to be as early as the beginning of the ninth century, *Notices des MSS. Bretons*, p. 8.¹ Perhaps Mr. Wright will be good enough to inform us, what date in his opinion should be assigned to it?

¹ Mr. Stephens says, "Lhuyd refers this MS. to the seventh century, and Zeuss to the eighth century. Here, then, we have triplets of the kind used by Llywarch, and which may have been sung by the old bard himself, full four centuries, if not five, anterior to the time when Mr. Wright says the metre was introduced by the Normans." Neither of the statements, on which Mr. Stephens bases his inference, will bear examination. Zeuss

We will now turn our attention to the topographical blunders which the writer of the poem is said to have committed. Several stanzas of the poem begin the words *Eglvisseu bassa*—churches of Bassa! They give rise to the following criticism—"as Mr. Eyton has already observed (*Ant. of Shropsh.*, x, 130), Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and Bassa's Church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, and as Christianity was only established in Mercia in the year 655, this church could not have existed within a hundred years after the period at which Llywarch Hen is supposed to have written." There is here a looseness of statement that may mislead. Mr. Eyton told us, that "one Basse¹ was the founder of the Kentish monastery of Reculver," and thence inferred that Basse was an Anglo-Saxon name. He then assumed that Baschurch was called after some Anglo-Saxon bearing this name, and drew the conclusion, that a Welsh poem purporting to be written in the sixth century, and mentioning the "Churches of Bassa," must be a forgery. Such is the thread on which these gentlemen would hang so weighty an inference. What, it might be asked, are we to say to the Basfords, which are met with in so many of our English counties, in Cheshire, Salop, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, etc.? Were all these the fords of the Anglo-Saxon Bassa? If so, he must have been a strangely ubiquitous personage. I do not know that I can be fairly called upon to state my own views as to the etymology of Baschurch. But amid guesses such as we have been dealing with, I need not be ashamed to bring forward one of my own. It has struck me, that

never saw the MS., and never ventured an opinion as to the age of the writing further than is contained in the passages I have quoted. Lhuyd's words are, "*Mi ai kerais yn nhal dalen o hên lyvyr Lhadyn 'sgrivennedig o lău Guydhelig ar groen hŷvyr er yng hylch mîl o vlynnŷdhoedh.*" (*Arch. Brit.*, 221.)—I found it (that is, the specimen of Old Welsh he had been talking about) on the top of a page of an old Latin book, written in an Irish hand on goat-skin, about a thousand years ago. As Lhuyd published the *Arch. Brit.* about the beginning of the eighteenth century, he must have thought that the Latin text was written about the beginning of the eighth: and he may not have been very far wrong in his conjecture. As to the time when the Welsh triplets were written, he says not a word. The writing differs widely from that of the Latin text in the body of the MS., and it is extremely difficult to ascertain its precise age, though I am not disposed to quarrel with the date Villemarqué assigns to it. The doubts on this subject will be of little service to Mr. Wright, as the triplets were most certainly written long before the Conquest.

¹ The real name is Bass: "King Ecgeberht gave to Bass the mass-priest Reculf, etc." (*Salde Basse moesse preoste, etc. Sax. Chron.*, 663.) Mr. Eyton committed the usual blunder and confounded the dative case with the nominative.

I shall not attempt to explain the relation that exists between the Welsh word Bassa and the first element of the English word Baschurch. The inquiry would be a difficult one, and would require more space than the limit of a note could furnish. Mr. Wright seems to consider Bass, Basse, and Bassa as varying forms of the same word, differing only as respects their orthography.

in British topography, *bas* seems often to have been used to denote a small stream, and I think I discover the origin of the old Celtic name in the Irish word *bais*, water. If this hypothesis be accepted, Basford, Baslow, Basmead, Baschurch, etc., would signify the Basbrook ford, the Basbrook low or tumulus, the Basbrook mead, the Basbrook Church, etc.

There is one circumstance connected with this part of our inquiry, which seems to me important, though Mr. Wright passes over it in silence. In the Marwnad, the phrase is *Eglvesseu bassa*, the churches of Bassa. Now, if the poem date from the sixth century, the use of the plural noun can be explained, for we know it was a common practice for the Celtic populations of the British islands to build several small churches or oratories within the same inclosure. We know also, that except in special cases, as at Glastonbury, our own ancestors contented themselves with a single church. Hence, we can understand how the old name "the Churches of Bassa," was superseded by the modern term Baschurch. But if, according to Mr. Wright's hypothesis, a Welsh minstrel of the fifteenth century forged the poem, and in so doing used the topography of the fifteenth century when describing the events of the sixth, how came he, in translating the name of Baschurch to use the plural noun instead of the singular? I am at a loss for an answer.

Again, several stanzas in the poem begin with the words *Y dref wen*, the White Town! We hear of its armies, of its lusty youth, and of its grey-headed seniors; and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was the capital of the district. Now, in the language of the sixth century, a white building meant a building of hewn stone, and it seemed to me a reasonable conjecture that the name was given to the Roman town of Uriconium, in order to distinguish it from the towns and villages around it, which were no doubt mainly built of timber. Mr. Wright takes a different view of the matter—"the bard speaks of Withington as the scene of one encounter with the Saxons, and calls it the White Town. Here we have again a purely Anglo-Saxon name which could not therefore have existed in this locality in the time of Llywarch Hen, and there is moreover a blunder in the interpretation of it. The name has no relation whatever to *white*, for Withington simply means in Anglo-Saxon the *tun*, or residence of the Withingas or Wetingas." There is nothing in the village of Withington to countenance the notion that it was the 'White Town' of the poem,¹ and that the poet ever intended so to represent it is a purely

¹ Mr. Stephens, it seems, thinks differently. According to this gentleman, the name of Withington signifies the White Town, and "the correspondence between the Welsh and English names far outweighs, in his judgment, the denial of Mr. Wright" (p. 68). Mr. Stephens, with much reason, asks for something more than Mr. Wright's "assertion" that Withington means the *tun* of the Withingas; and may not we ask for something more than Mr. Stephens's, before we admit that Withington means the White Town. *Withing* is not the word *white*, nor any form corrupt or derivative into which that word can be tortured. Mr. Stephens's assump-

gratuitous assumption on the part of Mr. Wright. If we put aside this assumption, there is not a tittle of evidence to convict the poor "bard" of the blundering charged against him, be it topographical or etymological. Whether Mr. Wright, if we look closely into the matter, will obtain an acquittal quite so readily, may be doubted. He tells us Withington meant the *tun* or residence of the Withingas. Names formed apparently in the same analogy as Withington, have lately been the subject of much speculation, which seems to have attracted Mr. Wright's attention. There can be no doubt that Watling Street meant the street of the Watlings, Erming Street the street of the Ermings,¹ Buckingham the hamlet of the Buckings, and so forth. We are able to make these assertions owing to the forms these names assume in the Anglo-Saxon. But if Mr. Wright, on the strength of the analogy, were to maintain that Huntingdon meant the down or hill of the Huntings, and Leamington the town of the Leamings, he would be greatly mistaken. What was the original meaning of Withington, I do not know, as I have never seen the name in any Anglo-Saxon document. If Mr. Wright has been more fortunate, he should have told us so; it would have cost him no more trouble to give us his proof than to make his assertion, and without the proof, the assertion is valueless.

In another part of the poem, mention is made of a place called Ercal; and according to Mr. Wright, "This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern name Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe or Arcalewe, meaning of course Erca's low, and this name is constantly found from the time of Domesday survey to near the end of the fourteenth century." Mr. Wright seems not to be aware that Ercal or Arcal is a very common name in British topography. It belongs to no less than three places² in Shropshire, and may be found in several other counties. Had Erca a low or burial-place in each of these several Ercals? It is true that in Norman charters Ercalewe is commonly, though not "constantly," substituted for Ercal. But to pronounce Ercal a corruption of Ercalewe is hazardous criticism. Can Mr. Wright produce any instance of a similar corruption? I have paid a good deal of attention to the laws which regulate our English letter-changes, and I know of none. Nothing, however, is more common than for a place to take different names according to circumstances, and in a formal document, a more precise and distinctive name than prevails in the current language of

tion is just as baseless as Mr. Wright's, with this difference—that Mr. Wright's is a possible, though an unproved, hypothesis; whereas, the assumption of Mr. Stephens is altogether contrary to the laws, which regulate the letter-changes of the English language.

¹ Since the paper on "The Four Roman Ways" was published (*Arch. Journal*, No. 54), the Saxon Charter to which I referred, as mentioning the Erming Street has been recovered, and the name is found written, as I conjectured would be the case—*Earminga Stræt*—the street of the Earmings.

² High Ercal, Child's Ercal, and Ercal wood, near the Wrekin.

the people. What is the name intended to be represented by Ercalewe it is not very easy to say, owing to the strange disguises under which English names appear in writings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Probably, it may have been intended to represent the compound term which in modern orthography would be spelt Ercal-lea. However this may be, Erca of Ercalewe must take his place beside the Bassa of Baschurch. He never existed but in Mr. Wright's imagination.

There is another objection brought against the genuineness of the poem, which to some readers may appear a more formidable one. In one of the stanzas occurs the word *Ffrainc*, and Mr. Wright points to it as containing a clear reference to the Normans. Now, in my notice of this old Welsh poem, I expressly stated that as it has come down to us, it probably contains much that has been interpolated. I might, therefore, if I thought fit, avail myself of the means of escape thus opened to me. The passage containing the word *Ffrainc* is not, like those referring to Bassa and the White Town, an essential or even an important part of the poem, and might be given up with little inconvenience. But I will deal candidly with Mr. Wright, and confess that I believe the passage in question to be a part of the original poem. I will deal generously also, and further tell him, that under that word *Ffrainc* lies buried a chapter of unwritten history. If he dig deep enough, he may find it, and then his be the credit of the discovery! The chapter will, no doubt, be some day written; though, at present, both space and leisure may be wanting for the purpose. Those who feel an interest in the subject may, if they search diligently the papers I have written on our early history, find more than one finger-post pointing to the spot where the treasure lies; and, to do my part towards aiding the adventure, I will add—first, that the word *Ffrainc* has no reference to the Normans; and, secondly, that Lingard, in whom Mr. Stephens puts his trust, is almost as much astray upon the subject as Mr. Wright himself.

The localities mentioned in the poem are very difficult to identify. Mr. Stephens considers that Trodwydd is Rodington, Avaerwy, "probably the Weaver," Traval, "some place on the Meole," etc.—conclusions, which it will be time enough to discuss, when we know the reasons on which they are founded.

The site of Tren, which I have considered to be the same place as the "White Town," or, in other words, as the Roman Uriconium, Mr. Stephens leaves for the present undetermined (p. 72); and he asks, why should the Roman town be called after the Tern rather than the Severn, as it lay in the fork between the two rivers, and nearer the latter than the former? The answer is a very obvious one. The Severn was the great drain of the west of Britain, and had on its banks more than one great Roman city. If these cities were named after the streams that flowed by them, it is clear that, in order to be distinctive, the names must be taken not from the main river near which the cities stood, but from the affluent which entered it in their neighbourhood. Mr. Stephens, moreover, thinks that the poet not

only knew "the Roman town by its proper designation," but that "he bears distinct testimony to the fact that it was then a ruin—that in the first half of the seventh century Uriconium was a city of the past. It is singular," he adds, "that so significant a verse as the following should have been overlooked.

"Neur syllais o Ddinlle Vrecon
Freur werydre
Hiraeth am dammorth brodyrdde."

"Have I not gazed from the site of the city of Wrecon
Upon the lands of Freur,
With sorrow for brotherly support."

And he dwells at some length upon "the extensive prospect which the spot commands." I am well acquainted with the site of the Roman Uriconium, but was not previously aware of those advantages of prospect which Mr. Stephens ascribes to it. My quarrel, however, at present, is with Mr. Stephens's translation. *Dinlle* does not signify "the site of a city." *Din* is a fortress, and *lle* a place; and *dinlle* means simply a fortified place or stronghold. In my paper on *The Conquest of the Severn Valley*, I considered the *Vrecon*, in the triplet Mr. Stephens has quoted, to refer to the remarkable hill, which gave its name alike to the Roman city and the British town which preceded it; and that the *dinlle Vrecon* was the earth-work, in which the inhabitants of the earlier town, in times of danger, took refuge with their flocks and herds, and remains of which may still be traced upon the Wrekin. What a prospect opens before the man who gazes from the Wrekin, I need not inform either Mr. Stephens or the reader.

Mr. Stephens endeavours to fix the date of "the destruction of Tren," and he tells us, "It must have been after 577, for Caeawg, the brother of Cynddylan, who was dead when the bard wrote, fought at the battle of Mannan in 584, survived that and fell at Cattraeth in 603 (*Annals of Ulster*, a. 584, *Gododin*, line 38)." Here is an explicit statement followed by the necessary vouchers. Nothing, apparently, can be more satisfactory. I turned to the *Annals of Ulster*,¹ and under the date 581 (not 584) found the entry—An. DLXXXI Bel Manonn in quo victor erat Aedhan me Gabhrain—but no mention of Caeawg. I turned to the *Gododin* and at line 38 I found a word *caeaug*, which Dr. Davies, Mr. Williams (ab Ithel), and M. de Villemarqué all alike treat as an adjective and render "crowned with a wreath." But Mr. Stephens assures us that it is really no adjective but the name of a hero, and he assumes that the hero he has thus disinterred is Caeawg, the brother of Cynddylan! "Again, Rhys, apparently the son of Morial fought at Cattraeth; Rhys, the son of Morial, was dead when Llywarch wrote, and accordingly Marwnad Cynddylan was written after 603. The battle of Cattraeth was fought between Ethelfrith of Northumbria, and an

¹ *Rerum Hib. Scriptores*, iv, 29.

allied force of Scots and Britons; there were two battles, in the first of which the Britons were victorious. Ethelfrith sent an offer of peace, his messenger was a Briton named Twrch; the offer was rejected; the Britons drank "clear mead" by torch-light; went drunk to battle next day; fell headlong off their horses, and lost the day. Twrch sided with the Angles, from having been deprived of his lands by his countrymen—Aneurin thought unjustly (Gododin, line

); and it was this Twrch who, coming to reclaim his patrimony, pierced Cynddylan through the head. This hostile visit may possibly have taken place in 613 after the battle of Bangor, when Ethelfrith defeated Brochwel." (*Arch. Camb.*, No. 37, p. 73.) One hardly knows how to deal with statements like these. The name of Ethelfrith does not once occur in the poem, and Twrch is just as shadowy a personage as the Caeawg we have been dealing with. There is not, indeed, a single one of these statements that is anything better than an unproved hypothesis. When the Gododin has been subjected to a searching criticism, its construction ascertained, and the interpolated matter rejected—for that there is interpolated matter, is certain—there may be a residuum available for the purposes of history. At present it is mere cloud-land. It is not yet decided whether it is a poem, a fragment of a poem, or a collection of poems. Each of these views has had its advocates. It is not yet settled between what parties the battle of Cattraeth was fought, when it was fought, or where it was fought. It was fought about the middle of the sixth century, according to Sharon Turner; about the end of that century, according to M. A. Thierry; "probably about 570," according to Mr. Williams; and according to Mr. Stephens in 603. It was fought a few miles east of Dumbarton, says M. de Villemarqué (*Bardes Bretons*, 242); somewhere on the Catrail, that is, on "the rampart extending nearly from the Solway to the Forth," says Mr. Williams (*Y Gododin*, 4); at Catterick in Yorkshire, says Mr. Stephens (*Lett. of the Cymry*, 11); and I have myself the misfortune to differ from each of these gentlemen. It is simply idle to quote the poem in the way Mr. Stephens has done. There is nothing definite or tangible before us. One might as well attempt to carve into shape the mist that lies along the side of a Welsh mountain.

I fully agree in the remarks Mr. Stephens has made on the off-hand manner, in which certain writers deal with these precious relics of an ancient literature—for precious they are notwithstanding all the disfigurements they have undergone. It is chiefly characteristic of those who, like Mr. Wright, are wholly ignorant of the language. Ignorant scepticism is no less easy, and to my mind even more offensive than ignorant credulity; and the "slashing criticism" fostered by the anonymous writing now so prevalent, deserves to be treated with at least as much severity as the innocent dreams in which our Welsh friends indulge so largely. Patient scholarship, aided by real criticism, may, it is to be hoped, lead the way to a better understanding of these mysterious poems; and the want of

trustworthy texts will, in all probability, be soon supplied. As a student of Welsh literature, I might have been better pleased, if some of the more valuable manuscripts—the Black Book for example—were published in their entirety, but till this be done, we may be thankful for the collection of the Historical Poems promised us by Mr. Skene.

In these remarks I have dealt candidly with Mr. Stephens, and frankly stated what I consider to be the weak points in his theory. He is now disembarassed of Mr. Wright, and will perhaps treat me with equal frankness, and discuss the "important errors," which he tells me are involved in my argument. That he may clearly see the issue before him, and not waste his strength by attacking positions I do not hold, I will add a brief summary of it. First, the Anglo-Saxon name of *Fethan leag*—Mr. Stephens writes it *Fethen-leagh*—may be expected, in our modern topography, to take the shape of *Faddiley*; secondly, by assuming the identity of the two places *Fethan leag* and *Faddiley*, all the circumstances relating to the battle of *Fethan leag* and detailed in the *Chronicle* become consistent and probable; thirdly, on this supposition *Ceawlin* must have passed by *Uriconium* in his march to *Fethan leag*, A.D. 584; fourthly, it appears from the poem, that the country round *Uriconium* was wasted by the English, while *Brochmael* was king of *Powis*; fifthly, it is probable that *Brochmael* was king at least as early as 584; and lastly, as there is no reason for supposing that the English on two occasions wasted *Shropshire*, I consider myself justified in concluding, that *Uriconium* was destroyed in 584 during *Ceawlin's* inroad. This is the argument to which Mr. Stephens must address himself. Hitherto, I have not found the man who could break a link in this chain of reasoning.

EDWIN GUEST.

LLYWARCH HEN AND URICONIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the October number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* a question was put to me by Dr. Edwin Guest; but it was expressed in a tone which appeared to me so little courteous, that I did not think of making any reply to it. However, as the remarks of Mr. Stephens in your last, on my arguments against the authenticity of the *Elegy* on the death of *Cynddylan*, ascribed to *Llywarch Hen*, have recalled me to the subject, if it will afford any satisfaction to Dr. Guest to know it, I can assure him that I have heard of nobody but himself who holds the opinions relating to the site of the battle of *Fethanleag* and the date of the destruction of *Uriconium*, published in his paper "On the Conquest of the Severn Valley." I had omitted his name out of no disrespect to himself. When my remarks were written I had only seen it stated in the report of an archæological meeting, that Dr. Guest had there expressed such an opinion; and as some

time had elapsed, and nothing of the sort had been published, though I could not avoid taking notice of the opinion, I thought it better, as a matter of courtesy, not to quote him for what might only have been hastily expressed and afterwards abandoned, or might not have been correctly repeated. The case is different with Mr. Stephens, who has applied to me an elaborate criticism to which I feel obliged in self-defence to reply; but I regret somewhat that he also has assumed a tone of self-confidence and a little rudeness which are not quite justified by the result.

As I wish to be as economical of your space as I can, I will not enter into any examination of Mr. Stephens's introductory remarks on the principles of criticism, because there are many questions involved in it. A wise man believes in nothing until he has satisfied himself that it is truth. This is the ground of all criticism. When a literary production professing to be ancient, is found only in a modern manuscript, it has always been assumed that the test of its authenticity must be sought in internal evidence; and that is the only test to which I appeal. The evidence which I have adduced against the poem of Llywarch Hen would have been fatal to any book pretending to be an authentic monument of classical antiquity. Perhaps Mr. Stephens has forgotten that there was a certain Greek of late date, who took it into his head to personate the tyrant Phalaris, and to write letters in his name, in which people believed until the mask was torn from the impostor in a very satisfactory manner by one of our greatest classical scholars. It is one of many cases in point. We shall see how far Mr. Stephens has weakened my evidence against Llywarch Hen by his examination of it. I will also pass over his remarks on the antiquity of rhymes, because I do not think he has added anything new to the subject, and I had not adopted it as a part of the argument I adduced against the poem in question. With this same desire of saving your space, I will offer no introductory remarks of my own, but will proceed at once to the examination of the strictures of Mr. Stephens on my evidence, which rested chiefly on the fact that the writer of this poem knew localities only by the modern forms of their Anglo-Saxon names, and that he misunderstood and mistranslated these in a manner which could only be done by somebody living about the beginning of the fifteenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. I cannot say that Mr. Stephens is very fortunate in the first case he handles. He says:

"Mr. Wright asserts that 'Y drev Wen,' or 'white town,' of the poem, is a translation from Wittington; and that the latter does not signify a 'white town,' but the residence of a family of Withingas or Wittingas. For this we have only the assertion of Mr. Wright, and are asked to accept that as being all-sufficient; but I for one desiderate something more. The correspondence between the Welsh and English names far outweighs, in my judgment, the denial of Mr. Wright; and renders it of but little, if any, value unless he can support it by specific evidence that there were Wittingas in this locality. He must, moreover, prove them to have been numerous; for there are similar names in many other places, and we should have to conclude that not only two other places in Shropshire, Whitechurch, and Whittington, near Oswestry, but also Whitby, Whitehaven, Whithern, and

Whitchurch, in Glamorganshire; and many other places are so called from families of Wittingas. Several of these names occur where the Saxons never were; of others we know the origin to be quite different; and with reference to the case in question, we happen to have a parallel instance where there can be no doubt of the priority of the Welsh name. When Howel Dda was about to revise the laws of Wales, he summoned the learned men of the Principality to meet at *Y Ty Gwyn ar Daf*. This name appears in the oldest MS. of the Welsh Laws, which is affirmed by Mr. Aneurin Owen to be as old as the early part of the twelfth century,—in fact, the oldest Welsh in existence (Preface, p. xxvi, *Laws*, pp. iii and iv); but the place is now only known under the English name of Whitland. Here it is evident that the Flemish settlers in Pembrokeshire have translated the older Kymric name; and it is to me equally clear that Wittington, ‘between the Tern and Rodington’ [the Roden ?], is a Saxon name for

‘Y drev wen rhwng Tren a Throdwydd.’”

I feel a little difficulty in meeting this first assault on my positions. If you should tell a person who had not been instructed in astronomy that an eclipse of the moon was caused by the position of the earth between its satellite and the sun, and he should reply that he had only “your assertion” for it, which he would not accept, you might perhaps think the reply rather rude, but would probably recommend him to learn astronomy. I am sorry to say that, in the present case, it is the best answer I can give to Mr. Stephens. Let him go and learn the subject; and for this purpose I can recommend him very conscientiously the chapter on “The Mark” in Kemble’s *Saxons in England*. Any one acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language and the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, knows that all these names ending in “-ington,” “-ingham,” etc., are formed of patronymics of families or clans, and form a very important characteristic of the primitive Teutonic system in the distribution of land. I have said nothing about any “Wittington,” for there is no place so called between the Tern and the Roden. The place alluded to by the composer of this Welsh Elegy is Withington. It is a name which, like that of Whittington also, has no relation whatever to Whitchurch, or Whitby, or Whitehaven, or Whitland, or any name of place which is designated by the epithet “white,” although it is evident that this Welsh translator of it thought that it had. His mistake was one into which most people fell during the centuries which followed the Norman period; but Mr. Stephens is mistaken in supposing that I am answerable for the discovery of the truth. The error was excusable in the pretended Llywarch Hen, as he had nobody to teach him better; but it is not excusable in his modern champion, who could so easily have made himself acquainted with the truth. “Withington” signifies the “tun” or inclosed place (residence or not) of the Withingas; “Whittingham,” the home or manor house of the Wittingas. Kemble, in his tables of “Marks,” has both these names. The Withingas are found in places named Withington in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire; the Wittingas in places named Whittington in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, Northumberland, Derbyshire, and Norfolk; and in Whittingham in Lancashire and Northumberland. In

this first case, therefore, instead of "having disposed of my arguments," as he asserts rather confidently, Mr. Stephens has run his head into a blunder by rashly engaging in a subject with which he had not first made himself acquainted. There can be no doubt whatever that the so-called Llywarch Hen's "Y drev Wen" is a mere mistranslation of Withington.

In my remarks to which Mr. Stephens's criticisms refer, I had said :

"The writer of this Elegy further tells us that 'the sod of Ercall is on the ashes of fierce men of the progeny of Morial':

'Tywar, cen Ercal ar âr dywal
Wyr, o edwedd Morial.'

This is also an Anglo-Saxon name, and the bard seems not to have been aware that the modern name Ercal was only a corruption of the original name of Ercalewe or Arcalewe,—meaning, of course, Erca's 'low'; and this name is constantly found from the time of the *Domesday Survey* to near the end of the fourteenth century, before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used. A writer of the age ascribed to Llywarch Hen could not have known the name at all; and if he had written at any time after the name existed, and before the fourteenth century, he would have known it better."

To this I added in a note,—

"It is probable, from the name, that there was a large 'low,' or sepulchral tumulus, at Ercal, which gave rise to the minstrel's notice of the "fierce men" having been buried there; but in all probability it was a Roman barrow."

It appears to me that the meaning of these few lines is sufficiently clear, and I cannot imagine how any one could make out of them the confusion and nonsense which are contained in the following criticism: a confusion which I will not attempt to unravel any further than by observing that Mr. Stephens has made me find things in *Domesday*, and make other statements, of which I never dreamt:—

"Mr. Wright remarks that Ercal is an Anglo-Saxon name; that it is a corruption of Erca's-low, or burial-mound; that Erca's-low was not really Erca's-low at all, but a Roman barrow; and that this name Erca, or Arca (Mr. Wright uses both), is frequently found in the time of the *Domesday Survey*, and from thence to the end of the fourteenth century, 'before which period the corrupted form of the word could hardly have been used' by the author of *Marwnad Cyndylan*. Let us examine these assertions. We are first told that Ercal in its entirety, including the final *l*, is an Anglo-Saxon name; then, in the same breath, that it is not a true Saxon name, but a corruption of an imaginary Saxon phrase; which phrase, in its turn, is assumed to be an imaginary and erroneous description of an imaginary Roman barrow; and finally, that Erca and Ercal are identical names! After this curious reasoning and final begging of the question, Mr. Wright takes a leap of four centuries, and finds the name Ercad, not Ercal, in the *Domesday Survey*. Thence he concludes the name is Saxon, that it could not have been British, and that it could not have been named by Llywarch Hen. This, again, is very singular argument. It is as cogent as if we were to say that the name David occurs as the author of the Psalms, that David Jones is a common name in Wales; *ergo*, that David is an exclusively Welsh name, and that the Psalms are forgeries. But to meet Mr. Wright more directly. I deny

that the names Erca and Ercal are identical, and that the occurrence of the name Erca in *Domesday Book* is conclusive evidence of its Saxon character. The presumption is, that neither Erca nor Ercal were Saxon names; for during six centuries of Saxon domination these names do not once occur," etc., etc.

I can go on copying no longer matter so wide of the question, or so little matter of fact. As will be seen in my original observations upon Ercal, I have found none of these names in *Domesday Book*; and when Mr. Stephens examines that record he will not find them there. He says that there was a Welsh chief named *Aircol*, and that there was another called *Airgol*. I may add that there is a chief called the Duke of *Argyll* at the present day, who has quite as much to do with the name of Ercall as the two worthies mentioned by Mr. Stephens. The latter goes on to say,—

"Moreover, Mr. Wright is involved in this further difficulty. The poet says that 'the sod of Ercal covers the ashes of brave men'; but cremation was not practised after the Norman conquest, neither were men buried under tumuli. He has endeavoured to evade the force of this objection by saying that the barrow was probably Roman; but he thereby destroys his own argument. And further, there must have been two Roman barrows, and ooth misnamed; for there are two Ercals in Shropshire,—High Ercal and Child's Ercal. Here again Mr. Wright misses the mark."

Why Mr. Stephens supposes that I believe in cremation "after the Norman conquest," I cannot even guess; but I am quite aware that there are two Ercalls, and I could even oblige Mr. Stephens with a third; though I am not aware that there is anything remarkable in the fact of several places bearing the same name. And I have no objection to the two barrows; for I believe there may have been more than two within these two Ercalls, inasmuch as there was a place called Shurlow in High Ercall. As Mr. Stephens appears to be astonished at the variations in forms of names, I have no objection to indulge him in a few more. At various dates the name of High Ercal appears in records under the following forms. I have only selected a few examples from many:

Archelou, <i>Domesday</i>	Herkelawe, 1208	Erkalue, 1256
Ercalou, 11th cent.	Hercalawe, 1229	Erkalwe, 1271
Harchaloua, 1141	Ercalue, 1235	Erkelawe, 1272
Herchaluu, 1160	Ercalew, 1240	Erkalwe, 1300
Arcalun, 1164	Erkalewe, 1245	Ercaluwe, 1315
Ercalew, 1175, 1186	Ercalowe, 1249	Erkalwe, 1331
Erkalewe, 13th cent.	Ercalew, 1253	Ercalowe, 1387
Harcalu, 1212	Hercalue, 1255	Erkalwe, 1397

I think it necessary to give a still smaller selection of examples with regard to Little or Child's Ercall:

Arcalun, <i>Domesday</i>	Hercalewe, 1255	Erkalewe, 1280
Arkela, 1200	Erkalue, 1272	Ercalewe, 1339

The *Arcalun* of 1164 in the first list, and of the *Domesday Survey* in the second, are no doubt errors of the Norman scribes, who mistook a *u* for an *n*. Now anybody who has even but a small acquaintance with

the Anglo-Saxon language, and any acquaintance with the topographical nomenclature of Shropshire and Herefordshire, knows that all these forms represent a pure Anglo-Saxon form like Erce-blæw or Erca-blæw. The meaning of the second part of this compound word is indisputable; and it is, in its English form "low," one of the most common terminations of our local names, such as Ludlow, Munslow, Wormlow, etc. Such names are very common in Shropshire and Herefordshire, because the large sepulchral mounds from which they arose, were and are scattered thickly over those two counties. As far as my researches have gone, I believe them to be all of the Roman period. With the first part of the word there is more difficulty, which is often the case with the attempt to explain these early names of places; but when Mr. Stephens asserts so positively that it is not Saxon, I fear he oversteps a little the limits of his knowledge; for the first book I take up, Kemble's *Codex Anglo-Saxonicus*, gives me an Anglo-Saxon charter which mentions a place named Erce-combe in the heart of the kingdom of Wessex. The circumstances which gave rise to the name are now often forgotten. Wormlow means the "dragon's tumulus"; and there was no doubt connected with it a legend of a dragon. Ludlow was supposed to be the "mound of the people," either because a rather numerous population had settled round, or because people resorted (perhaps for some sort of celebrations) to the hill on which it stood; but it has now been discovered that the Saxon name of the place was *Lude*, and that its name signifies the "low of Lude." The first part of our name may have been *erc* or *arc*, a chest or coffer (an ark). I believe that many, if not most, of the sepulchral deposits in these "lows" have been originally placed in wooden chests which have perished through the effects of time; and the discovery of the chest in a barrow might have given it its distinctive name. But still I am more inclined to think that Erca or Arca represents a man's name, which may be that of some early proprietor of the spot, or a mythic name. Mr. Stephens assumes very wrongly that I imagined it to be the name of the man who was buried in it. This, however, is plain, that Ercall is only a late corruption of the mediæval name, and that the compiler of the *Elegy* only knew it in this late corrupted form.

Mr. Stephens goes on to say :

"The next objection is to the name 'Frank,' where the poet says, 'the Frank would not have a word of peace from the mouth of Caranmael.' These Franks, says Mr. Wright, were the Frenchmen or Anglo-Normans. This passage has always occasioned doubts as to the antiquity of this verse; but it is by no means so assailable as it seems. The Franks and Saxons in their early incursions were always in alliance. Carausius, it will be found, was appointed to defend the coast of Britain from the attacks of both; and when he usurped the empire of Britain, he took them into his service. He reigned chiefly by the help of Frankish warriors. (Lapenberg, *History of England*, i, 45.) Again, his successor, Allectus, availed himself largely of these allies, as we learn from Eumenius' address to Constantius :

"Such, invincible Cæsar, was the consent of the immortal gods upon your achievements, that your destruction of the enemy, and especially of those of them who were Franks, became most signal and complete; for

when those of your soldiers, who had been separated by a fog from the others, arrived at the town of London, they put to death in the streets of that city a large number of that mercenary multitude who had fled thither from the battle, and hoped to escape and bear with them the plunder of that city.'

"The defeat of Allectus took place in the West, probably at *Campus Electi*, or Maesaleg in Monmouthshire. Would it be an absurdity to suppose that some of them fled northward and settled themselves on the Welsh border? Half a century later, namely in 364, we find that the Franks and Saxons infested the coast of Gaul (Ammian. Marcellin., xxvii, 8), and *probably of Britain also*. If they did this during the Roman occupation, would they be less likely to do so when the legions were withdrawn? As they had been in alliance with the Saxons up to that time, would they not be likely to participate with them in the conquest of Britain? Lappenberg thinks they did. 'Of the participation of the Franks there exists some, though not sufficiently specific accounts. The same may be observed of the Longobards. Little doubt can, however, be entertained regarding either the one or the other, as we elsewhere, in similar undertakings, find Saxons united with Franks and Longobards.' (*History of England*, i, 99.) As a necessary consequence, the earlier settlers would be forced westwards, and we accordingly ought not to be surprised to find Franks on the Welsh border. That there was such a settlement in Shropshire is all but certain; for do we not find *even now a Franktown*,—an English Frankton and a Welsh Frankton—in the very district to which the Elegy of Cynddylan refers. The occurrence of the name Frank indicates an unsuspected historic fact. It is not a reason for denying the antiquity of the poem."

There is so much confusion and historical blunder in all this, that I have thought it best to repeat Mr. Stephens's observations in full; and I will endeavour to give him a little more information than he seems to possess about the Franks. Dr. Lappenberg did think that the Franks took some part in the invasion of Britain; but he would not have thought so if he had examined his authorities more carefully; and Mr. Stephens has made a number of statements which Lappenberg could not have made, and for which there is no authority whatever. In the time of Carausius the Franks had only newly advanced from the interior of Europe, had reached the banks of the Rhine, and were pressing hard upon the frontier of the Roman province of Gaul. The Romans, according to their practice in the decline of the empire, endeavoured to avert their hostility by taking them into their pay and giving them lands, and only made them more dangerous. It is hardly necessary to say that the Franks were not seamen; but when they came upon the Rhine and the Scheldt they soon saw the advantage of predatory excursions in boats, by which they could come quickly and unexpectedly on any point of attack; and they were very glad to ally themselves with the Saxons, who were the best and boldest sailors in the world, and thus extend their ravages along the coasts of Gaul, which was the province on which their eyes were riveted. The emperor appointed Carausius to the command of a fleet to protect the coasts of Belgian and Armorican Gaul against these attacks. Eutropius says: "*Per tractum Belgicæ et Armoricæ . . . quod Franci et Saxonones infestabant*"; and Orosius, "*Oceani littora, quæ tunc Franci et Saxonones infestabant*." "*Oceani littora*" of course meant the coasts of

the Continent. The naval station of Carausius for this purpose was Boulogne. There is not the slightest intimation that the coasts of Britain were attacked or threatened; and it is not likely that the Franks, who were unaccustomed to the sea, should go out upon it in search of adventures, when all their designs were upon Gaul. Mr. Stephens seems to forget that the empire usurped by Carausius included Gaul as well as Britain; and that in fact Gaul, in face of Rome, formed at first the most important part of it. He had there naturally taken the Franks into his pay; and it was there, if anywhere, that he reigned chiefly by them. When he was driven from Boulogne by Constantius, it appears from the account of Eumenius that he carried with him to Britain a body of Frankish troops, which remained with his murderer and successor, Allectus. Their naval station, and the headquarters of these usurpers, was in the Southampton Water,—no doubt at Bittern,—and it was there that Constantius went to seek them. The notion that the battle took place to the west, in Monmouthshire, is a mere stroke of the imagination. It is quite clear from the narrative of Eumenius, who lived at the time, and must have been perfectly well acquainted with these transactions, that Allectus retreated from Southampton towards London, with the intention of plundering that city, and then escaping to the Continent; that he was overtaken before he reached that place; and that the battle took place so near to it that the victorious troops of Constantius entered the town along with, or immediately after, the fugitives. The former appear to have wreaked their vengeance especially upon the Frankish auxiliaries of the usurper; and this is the only known instance of Franks having been introduced into this island during the Roman period. There is no authority whatever for stating that the Franks and Saxons had been *always* in alliance, or that they had ever joined in the invasion of Britain.

But Mr. Stephens finds a proof of their presence on the Welsh border, in the name of Franktown. I can add to *his evidence* on this point, that there is a Frankwell (anciently and correctly Frankville) adjoining to Shrewsbury; and I am afraid, if we trace the Franks by such names, we might find them all over the island. But Mr. Stephens has fallen into a very singular mistake; and I fear that I must venture upon offering him a little information on mediæval antiquities. The feudal princes and great barons of the middle ages soon learnt to appreciate the value to their treasuries of encouraging commerce on their domains. It was the best way of obtaining that rare and important article in the middle ages—cash. Hence they tried to draw merchants to their lands by establishing little towns with freedom and privileges, either commercial or sometimes municipal, by which they might be attracted; and such places were usually denominated in France by the name of a *francheville*, or free town. In England, where the Anglo-Norman dialect and the English were oddly intermixed, the form which the name took was Frankville or Frankton. On the borders of Wales, where two hostile races met, and at the same time felt the need of commercial intercourse, such privileged towns were especially necessary; and Frankwell held such a position in regard

to Shrewsbury, and Frankton for Ellesmere. The latter is called Franchetone in the *Domesday Survey*. The names had not the slightest relation to any Franks who had come from Germany with the Anglo-Saxons, and who had helped to destroy Uriconium. Much more absurd would it be to suppose that there were Frankish troops engaged in Shropshire against the Welsh in the sixth century, when, according to some, Llywarch Hen flourished; or in the seventh, when he flourished, according to Mr. Stephens. Moreover, it is evident from the Elegy that these were permanent and much hated enemies.

But if Mr. Stephens will take the trouble to look over the *Domesday Survey* for the border counties, he will understand how the Franks came on the borders of Wales; and in the Welsh records of the three or four centuries following, he will see whom the Welsh understood by the *Franks* they hated so much. I need only refer to almost every page of the useful edition of the *Chronicle of Caradoc of Llan-carcavan*, which you have given with the same number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* in which Mr. Stephens's remarks appear. It is quite evident that when the composer of this Elegy used the name of Franks, he was thinking of the Norman barons; and that he could not, therefore, be a man who lived in the sixth or seventh century.

We may draw from all this a moral which might, perhaps, deserve the attention of Mr. Stephens, that any one who intends to write critically should not take his authorities at second hand, and on the representations of others, but study them with care in the originals.

Mr. Stephens has discovered that the Tren of the composer of the Elegy is a different place from Uriconium. He asks,—“As Uriconium is on the banks of the Severn, would not the author of the poem have named it Havren rather than Tren; the latter river being further from it,—in fact, half a mile away?” I answer, without hesitation, No! Towns rarely took their names from a large river, unless they stood at its mouth; but usually from a small one. A large river like the Severn gives no name distinctive of the locality of the town; and there might be twenty different places with an equal claim to the same name. But the objection is met at once by the fact that nearly all our old topographers speak of Uriconium as standing near, or at, the confluence of the Tern with the Severn; and that was evidently the reason why the composer of the legend called it Tren. After some other remarks of no importance, Mr. Stephens proceeds:

“Mr. Wright has here fallen into three errors; for it so happens that the poet did know Uriconium under its proper designation; that he names Tren as a distinct and different town; and that he locates it to the north and west of the Tern, and not half a mile southward. He gives us to understand that the enemy who destroyed Tren *crossed*, or came through, the Tern,—evidently from the east. Here, then, the critic, so far from convicting the poet of ignorance, has only exhibited his own mistakes. He has, moreover, missed a conclusive argument in favour of his own view of the date of the destruction of Uriconium; for not only did the poet know this Roman town by its proper designation, but he also bears distinct testimony to the fact that it was then a ruin,—that in the first half of the seventh century Uriconium was a city of the past. It is singular that so significant a verse as the following should have been overlooked:

“‘Neŵr Syllais o Ddinlle Vrecon
Freuer werydre
Hiraeth am dammorth brodyrdde.’

Have I not gazed from the site of the city of Wrecon
Upon the lands of Freuer,
With sorrow for brotherly support.”

I can assure Mr. Stephens that I had not overlooked these verses; but I was fully convinced, as I am still convinced, that they had no relation to Uriconium. *Din-llŵ*, says Mr. Stephens, means a place where a city had been. If he will take the trouble of going up to the top of the Wrekin, which is enclosed with ancient and strong entrenchments, he will have no difficulty in understanding what the composer of the Elegy meant by “the site of the city,” and why the composer chose that spot for overlooking the lands of anybody which lay within a considerable distance around. I am not aware what Welsh name there may be for the Wrekin; but it is singular enough that the bard who has personated Llywarch Hen has got hold of the Anglo-Saxon name of it, which was Wrecon and Wrecen. This is surely a reply to Mr. Stephens’s odd remark in an earlier part of this paper,—“Welshmen do not know any difficulties of pronunciation. They can sound Wrekin without dropping the *w*, and pronouncing it ‘Rekin’; and old Llywarch Hen could do what most Englishmen cannot, viz. sound ‘Uricon’ as a word of two syllables.” I think there can be no doubt that the *Tren* of the Elegy was intended to represent Uriconium. Knowing the course of the river, I confess I have a difficulty of conceiving what can have been the shape or magnitude of a town which stood “to the north and west of the Tern,” unless it formed an immense crescent two or three miles in extent; nor can I understand why the enemy “evidently came from the east.” It seems, on the contrary, quite clear that fighting is intimated to have taken place at Ercall (High Ercall) and at Withington; and I hardly need say that these two places are nearly in a line *north* from Wroxeter,—the direction of invasion by the Northumbrian Angles which must have been most familiar in the old Welsh traditions. Now in this direction from Ercall, you cross the Roden to Withington, and from Withington *you cross the Tern* to Wroxeter. It seems to me that Mr. Stephens has rather lost himself among my “errors” and “mistakes.”

Let us now proceed to Mr. Stephens’s notable story about Bassa and his church. I have said that Bassa is an Anglo-Saxon name, and that Bassa’s church was an Anglo-Saxon foundation; and argue, therefore, as Christianity was only introduced into Mercia in 655, this church could not have existed within a hundred years after the period when Llywarch Hen is usually understood to have written. In addition to this instance of the name of Bassa occurring in Mercia, we find it in the seventh century in Northumbria and in Kent. Mr. Stephens denies that Bassa was an Anglo-Saxon name; but let us hear what he has to say on the subject:

“In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we read thus: ‘A.D. 699.—This year King Egbert (of Kent) gave Reculver to Bass, the mass-priest, that he might

build a minster thereon.' This Bass, whom Gaimar's *Chronicle* names Bass, may have been the 'Bassus miles Æduini' who fled with Paulinus from Northumbria to Kent, on the death of Edwin, in 633. *Being the friend of Paulinus he may have been, as the name indicates, a Roman or Italian, and may have come over with him in 601.* As the missionaries soon after separated, and found independent spheres of labour,—Mellitus and Justus to the East Saxons and Rochester in 604, and Paulinus to the Northumbrians in 625,—so Bassus may have fixed himself on the Welsh border at an early period, and have emigrated northward to join Paulinus, after the fall of Cynddylan, and on the outbreak of hostilities between Edwin and Cadwallon. Bede's statement that Bassus was a soldier of Edwin's lacks the appearance of truth, and may be simply a conjecture, as it seems to be at variance with the statement of the *A.-S. Chron.* The Mercian Bassa may have been named in honour of the Italian; and as the latter was a church builder in his old age, so in his earlier years he may have been ambitious to found a Roman church on the Welsh border."

The words printed in italics are all either statements without any foundation, or equally unfounded suppositions, originating only in Mr. Stephens's rather fertile imagination. Not one of these "may-bes" has the slightest shadow of a fact to rest on. But why Bede's statement should be questioned is to me a complete mystery. Bede is universally acknowledged to be one of the most careful and accurate historians the middle ages have left us. He was writing about his own country, with the affairs of which he was especially well acquainted; and these events were then so recent that he was no doubt acquainted with people who had been eye-witnesses, or lived at the time. He was an ecclesiastic writing ecclesiastical history; and it is ridiculous to suppose that, in such a case, he could have mistaken an ecclesiastic for a warrior; and it must be further remarked that his account is perfectly coherent and natural. After the slaughter of King Edwin in the fatal battle of Haethfelth in 633, there was no safety in Northumbria for any of the members of his family, and accordingly the queen, Ethelburga, fled to Kent with Paulinus, to whose charge her father had entrusted her, and who was her spiritual adviser. And Bede goes on to say that they travelled under the conduct of a most powerful warrior of King Edwin's, named Bassus, who was carrying away from danger the king's two children and grandchild. ("*Venit autem illuc duce Basso, milite regis Æduini fortissimo.*") The use of the word *dux* coupled with *miles*, is sufficient to shew that Bassus and his followers formed a military escort; and Bede says not a word to make us suppose that he was a friend of Paulinus, or that there was any acquaintance between them beyond that which would naturally exist between two men of distinction living at the same court; which is a mere fancy of Mr. Stephens. I cannot see how this can be at variance with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which states, under the year 669 (not 699 as Mr. Stephens gives it), that King Egbert of Kent gave Reculver to a priest named Bass, "to build a monastery thereon." It is quite evident that Bassus of Northumbria, and Bass the Kentish priest, were two different persons; and Mr. Stephens's notion that the Kentish Bass was the man who went to the borders of Wales to found

Baschurch, is not worth a moment's consideration. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not tell us that he was an old man, or that he was a church-builder, or that his ambition in church-building lay in the direction of the border of Wales. It simply represents him as a pious Anglo-Saxon priest who wanted to found a monastic establishment (a very common practice in those times) in what was then a solitary place. We thus find the name of Bass in Northumberland, again in Kent, and a third time in Mercia; in three very different localities, and among three different branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Surely this is a clear proof that the name is Anglo-Saxon. But there is another and very decisive proof, which Mr. Stephens has entirely overlooked. We find two forms of the name, Bas and Bass, with its patronymic, among the Anglo-Saxon settlers in this island; for the Basingas have left their name at Basing and Basingstoke in Hampshire, and at Basingwerk in Flintshire; and the Bassingas at Bassingbourn in Cambridgeshire, Bassingfield in Nottinghamshire, Bassingham and Bassingthorpe in Lincolnshire, and Basington in Northumberland.

Mr. Stephens has a theory about Baschurch which I can only consider as childish. He propounds a doctrine which I cannot understand, that, supposing the Mercians were only converted in 655, "we are to reckon backwards from 655, and not forward," if we wish to find Christians who might have built the church, and illustrates it by some very irrelevant comparisons. He says "it was a *protected* church in a Christian country," but gives no authority for such a statement. In fact, there is no reason whatever for supposing that the church of Baschurch was as old as the seventh century; for the earliest mention of it is the information that it had been given, before the compilation of *Domesday Book*, by Earl Roger de Montgomery to Shrewsbury Abbey. But Mr. Stephens seems to assume, upon this notion of its being a "protected" church, that it was founded by some fugitive Anglian Christian before the Mercians had made themselves masters of this country. And then he has another theory, according to which he places the death of Cynddylan, commemorated in this Elegy, in the year 613; and thinks that the old bard may have lived on to be a witness of the conversion of the Mercians in 655. This unlucky bard, Llywarch Hen, would seem, by the manner in which he gets from one date another, to have been one of those slippery individuals of whom the less said the better.

I think thus that all my objections to the authenticity of Llywarch Hen's Elegy have been strengthened rather than weakened by Mr. Stephens's attack. It is evident that the writer or composer of it knew Withington only by its Anglo-Saxon name, and that he mistranslated it as it could be mistranslated only at a comparatively late period; that he knew Ercall only by its late and corrupted name; that he blundered equally in his allusion to Baschurch; that he knew nothing about the real history of the destruction of Uriconium, and that he was even ignorant of its name; and that, to crown all, in his bitter feeling against the Franks, or Norman lords marchers, he was betrayed into an allusion to them which shews that he lived in their time, and not in that of Cynddylan.

I will only add that I regret to have been obliged, in self-defence, to point out so many serious mistakes into which Mr. Stephens has fallen; and I shall be sorry if I have written anything to give him the slightest degree of pain. I look upon him with personal respect, and have always considered him as one of the best scholars in Welsh literature in the present day.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

Sydney Street, Brompton. Jan. 1864.

A WALK THROUGH CARNARVON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Whenever I have an opportunity of revisiting Carnarvon, I always take a walk round and through its Castle, its walls, its quays, and its streets. This it fell to my lot to be able to effect the other day; and I beg you to accept a few words from me as an archæological tourist.

I strolled up towards Llanbeblig, the parish church, in order to refresh my memory with a glance at the locality of SEGONTIUM. I have no doubt now that the Roman road leading from it to HERIPI MONS was on the south-west side of the modern road to Bettws Garmon; that it crossed the Seiont somewhere above the spot where the Union Workhouse now stands; and that it kept on dry, ridgy ground till it came to the foot of Mynydd Mawr, whence its course as far as Beddgelert has been long since described in the *Arch. Camb.* It is very probable that another line of road branched off towards Dolbenmaen, and certainly one ran down to the water side at Dinas Dinlle; but the line followed by that which went off for CONOVIVM still remains uncertain. It may have passed by Dinas Dinorwig; but the point requires further investigation.

I understand that a project exists for erecting villas on the sloping sides of SEGONTIUM, which is certainly one of the most remarkable spots in the vicinity,—an “eligible site for a mansion,” as it will probably be described by the advertizing agents. If so, then our Association ought to be on the alert, and make serious preparations, *in combination with the Metropolitan Societies*, for doing for this Roman city what has been done for URICONIUM. So much was discovered when the new vicarage was built, that we may anticipate great things from the excavations of the other four or five acres within the fortified *enceinte*. The expense could hardly be borne by our own Association alone. It is improbable that local funds should be forthcoming for the purpose; and as the object may be said to be almost a national one, it will not be unfair to overstep the bounds of what is otherwise a good archæological rule, and call for aid from kindred societies. I cannot but conceive that the “*Antiquaries*” and the two London Associations would be willing to join the Cambrian Archæological Association in so good a work. But no time should be lost; for, when once the building rage sets in, damage and destruction are imminent.

After all, however, the chief object of interest in Carnarvon is, and must be, the Castle. This, in its present condition, reflects great credit on the Government, which completed the external repairs under Mr. Salvin's direction, and also on the officers now in charge, the Constable and his deputy (the Earl of Carnarvon and John Morgan, Esq.), for the care they have shewn in repairing the interior. By the sensible system now adopted, of charging an uniform rate of 4*d.* for each person admitted, sufficient funds have been raised for excavating, clearing, and repairing the inside of the building, as well as for maintaining trustworthy persons in charge of the gate. Most of our members are acquainted with this already. I allude to the matter chiefly with the view of recommending a similar plan to be adopted with other crown castles,—Conway, Denbigh, Harlech, Pembroke, etc. It might not be possible in any of these, except Conway, to raise so large a sum annually as at Carnarvon (about £100 *per ann.*); but still much might be obtained: a repairing fund might be set on foot; and all events the public would not be exposed to extortion. I trust that some of our members connected with these places will profit by the hint, and induce the lessees to imitate the good example set them at Carnarvon. The staircases in this latter castle have all been repaired, the walls cleared to the foundations, and made thoroughly good: every stone, indeed, throughout the edifice has been examined and secured as firmly as at first; and, with common care, it will all hold together for a very long period. New gates have been erected under the great entrance tower; and, inside the Eagle Tower, the lowest vault, opening on the quay, has been temporarily covered in, without damaging any portion of the building, as a *dépôt* for the stores of the Naval Reserve.

It seems rather strange that the Cambrian Archaeological Association should never have undertaken to publish an authentic account of this great Castle, nor have printed the original Fabric Rolls which are extant in the Record Office. I do not say anything about views of the building, because it has been so thoroughly worked up by photographers as to have become one of the best known in this country. Plans, however, are still wanting; and measurements, sections, etc., would be of great value to all architects.

At the foot of the Eagle Tower, on the quay, some small and unsightly houses have long been allowed to remain. They are evidently encroachments, and ought to be removed. Possibly means for indemnifying their owners might be obtained from the fund raised at the gates. Nor could there well be a more legitimate application of this money, since the main repairs have been so well attended to. The approaches, indeed, of the Castle, and the vacant spaces at the foot of the walls on the town side, made by filling up the old fosse, are not in a satisfactory condition. They seem to be used as spots on which all kinds of rubbish may be thrown and retained. This should not be allowed; and it is to be hoped that the Deputy Constable will take the matter in hand.

Next in interest to the Castle are the ancient walls, which, after those of Conway, are the most perfect of any in Wales, though nearly

equalled by the walls of Tenby. I do not know in whom the property of these walls is vested; whether in the crown, in the corporation, or in individuals; but thus much is certain, that they ought to be cleared away, on the land side, of all the mean houses that now touch them, and that a roadway should be continued from the quay all round, at their base. The gateways too should be repaired, if not rebuilt, after some of the patterns to be afforded by the Castle. In short, the town ought to shew some kind of pride in them, and keep them in proper order.

It is a remarkable fact that, with all the grandeur of the royal pile continually confronting them, the magistrates of Carnarvonshire should have recently allowed a new County Hall to be erected, after plans and in a style marking a decadence of art—

“If art that can be called where art is none.”

The old Hall, barbarous enough in itself certainly, and inconvenient, has been taken down, and in its place a building has been run up in the “Neat Commercial” style, or “Builders’ Classic,” with a heavy front portico over the secondary door, while the principal door is in the side of the Hall down a back street leading to the jail! The interior of the building is turned round, and the roof cut away for the sake of a skylight; so that the whole constitutes an architectural “sham,” and its appearance only serves to measure the wide interval that separates the constructive skill of these latter days from those of Henry de Elrington.

A new Church, by Mr. Salvin the repairer of the castle, rather too much decorated for the locality,—and *threatened* with a spire,—is now nearly finished, at the eastern entrance of the town. It is a relief to the eye and the mind after the County Hall; and it ought to teach the inhabitants to endeavour to give their town a more suitable aspect than it now wears. The streets, however, retain the same squalid, untidy, featureless appearance for which they have been so long notorious, and to remedy which a conflagration seems especially desirable: what is called the Castle Square, if entirely cleared of all the houses now surrounding it, and if rebuilt with something of the taste manifested at Chester in reconstructing the Rows, might become a great ornament to the town instead of, as it now is, a disfigurement.

I am, Sir, &c.,

Dec. 2, 1863.

A TRAVELLER.

LOST CHURCHES IN WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR.—For the information of an “OLD MEMBER,” I herewith send you a list of several lost churches. In the parish of Clydey, Pembrokeshire, celebrated for its inscribed stones of an early Christian date, there exists on the farm of Pläs yr hendy an oblong-square mound, the site of a lost chapel called “Cappel Mair” (St. Mary’s Chapel). The ruins are covered with turf, but easily traced. The

mother church of Clydey contains a very ancient monument to the memory of a family living at Cappel Mair, probably at Plâs yr hendy. In the adjoining parish of Manordify are the ruins of another chapel, called "Cilvowyr," the tithes of which now belong to a lay improprator. There is a large Baptist Chapel below the ruins. The church of Castellau, near Clydey, is also in ruins, and has been so for more than a century: the tithes are impropriate. There is a large Baptist Chapel at Blaensfôs, within a short distance of the ruins of this parish church. In the parish of Aberporth, in Cardiganshire, is the extinct chapel of Blaenannerch or Llanannerch (the church of the Annunciation). The site of this ancient chapel is now usurped by a large Methodist Chapel. The tithes of this chapelry belong to John Probert, Esq., the founder of the Medical Benevolent College at Epsom.

I am yours, etc.,

A NEW MEMBER.

Archæological Notes and Queries.

Note 80.—COCKPIT.—In a field to the eastward of Haroldston Ruins, near Haverfordwest, once the seat of the Perrotts, is a level area artificially formed. I have heard that this was a cockpit. The field slopes considerably to the north, and the soil has therefore been thrown up so as to form a very steep but low glacis on two sides of the area. The word *pit* is therefore somewhat inapplicable in this particular example.

J. TOMBS.

Note 81.—CWNNINGER. (See *Query 117.*)—There is in the parish of Burton, Pemb., on the farm of Milton, a field measuring 17a. 2r. 25p. described in the Tithe Map as "*The Cunnigar.*" At Milton once lived a branch of the family of Wogan; and this property, I am told, passed away from that family rather less than a hundred years ago. The existing farm-house appears to be but a portion of the original structure. It is old, but not very old.

J. T.

Reply to Query in Arch. Camb. for Jan. 1864, p. 76.—Measurement of land in Carnarvonshire, from Hengwrt MS. 251; a MS. formerly belonging to the well-known Edw. Lhwyd of the Ashmolean Museum, and purchased by the Vaughan family, with other of Lhwyd's MSS., at the sale of the Sebright Collection.

"Tres pedes faciunt unam ulnam.

"Quinque ulnæ & dimidium faciunt unam perticam.

"Quadraginta perticæ in longitudine & quatuor perticæ in latitudine faciunt unam acram terræ.

"Quindecim acræ terræ faciunt unum tostum terræ.

"Duo tosta terræ faciunt unam virgatam terræ, et quatuor virgatæ terræ faciunt unum curacatum terræ."

W. W. E. W.

Peniarth, Jan. 14, 1864.

Miscellaneous Notices.

CELTIC MONUMENTS IN N. AFRICA.—In April last M. Féraud (an interpreter to the French army in Algeria) having set out from Constantina in company with an Englishman, Mr. Henry Christy, who has been for many years engaged in searching after Celtic monuments, found, on arriving at the sources of the Bou-Marzoug, at thirty-five kilometres south-west of Constantina, the ground entirely covered with Celtic monuments within a range of at least three leagues' radius. There were dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and tumuli, amounting to several thousands scattered about the country. M. Féraud examined more than a thousand of them. The dolmens are surrounded with one or more square or circular walls built of large stones. The slabs used for tables are so placed that one of their corners is higher than the rest, and some are grooved. At one of the corners of some of the stone walls above mentioned there is a menhir; and lastly, the zone within which all these monuments are placed is surrounded by rows of heavy stones placed upright on the ground, and forming uncovered alleys connecting the dolmens, tumuli, and cromlechs together. Seventeen of these several burial-places have been searched at Mr. Christy's expense, and found to contain human bones, as well as those of horses and birds; buckles, iron and copper rings, vases and fragments of vases, etc. In three of these tombs the skeletons were sufficiently well preserved to admit of their position being determined. They were lying on the left side, with their knees almost touching the chin, and their arms passed crosswise over the breast. Now all dead bodies in Etruscan tombs are placed so. Moreover, the head, resting on a stone, was turned towards the south, and human skulls were placed at the feet. The third tomb contained, besides the bones of a man, those of a horse, with flint implements, and a medal bearing the name of Faustina, who flourished A.D. 141. This Celtic necropolis therefore belongs to the second century of Christianity.—*Moniteur Algérien*.

[We are indebted for this interesting piece of information to the habitual kindness of Mr. Sylvanus Urban.—Ed. *Arch. Camb.*]

PENNANT MELANGELL CHURCH, MONGOMERYSHIRE.—This ancient edifice is going to be repaired, not destroyed; and a subscription is forming for the purpose.

LEGENDARY TALES OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.—A small volume bearing this title, and containing eight tales "rehearsed from the Early Chronicles," by Miss L. Menzies, has just been published by Mr. Russell Smith. Its subject comes home to us, and we shall notice it in a future number of the Journal.

(Reviews unavoidably postponed.)

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XXXIX.—JULY, 1864.

ON THE SO-CALLED CELTIC LANGUAGES IN REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF RACE.

BY JOHN CRAWFURD, F.R.S.

THERE exist two living European languages which, going under the common name of Celtic, are usually believed to be one tongue, or at least sister languages of one origin and spoken by the same race of man. These are, on one hand, the native language of Ireland and of the mountainous part of Scotland, which are beyond doubt essentially the same; and the native language of Wales and Brittany, which are equally sister tongues. I have long been of opinion that the two languages in question are really different and distinct tongues, and having made such inquiry as was in my power with the view of determining the question, I propose to state the result in the present paper. The qualifications which I bring to this task are soon told. One of the two languages, the Gaelic, was the language of my childhood (I still retain some colloquial acquaintance with it), and of the languages of some oriental nations, probably in as advanced a state when their tongues took their present shape as were the Welsh and Irish when theirs did so.

In order to determine the consanguinity of languages, the first thing necessary is to find a test by which consanguinity can be certainly determined, and I think this not a matter of much difficulty. The test which I would apply would be the following. When between two or more languages there is a substantial agreement in phonetic character, in grammatical structure, and in the great body of their words, such languages may confidently be pronounced to be cognate tongues, or languages having a common parentage.

The words which seem to me most distinctly to prove lan-

guages to be cognate, are prepositions, auxiliary verbs and conjunctions, adverbs of time and place,—those parts of speech, in fact, which form the links of language, and without which sentences cannot be constructed. When these are essentially the same in any two languages, these languages may be pronounced at once as sister tongues; while, when they differ, they may with equal confidence be pronounced as different tongues, or of different origin, although they may contain many words in common. All the words referred to are in English of German origin, and none of them of Norman French. The same class of words in the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, are of Latin origin. Such a French particle as 'sans' was at one time introduced into our language, but it was expelled as an intruder.

When a language can be spoken or written in words of one tongue out of several which enter into its composition, that language will be found to be its parent, and the rest of its words but subsidiary. Our own language, although at least one-sixth part of our dictionary be French, can readily be written without a single French word, while it is impossible to write a sentence of it with French words only. It is the same with all other tongues, into the composition of which two or more foreign elements enter. The languages of Southern Europe all contain a considerable admixture of Teutonic words, but they are written easily in words derived from Latin without their assistance, while it is impossible to construct a single sentence of them with words purely Teutonic.

The same rule extends to the oriental languages. The Persian language may be written without a word of the large infusion of Arabic which now forms an integral part of it. The *Shah Nameh*, or Book of Kings, the greatest work in the language, although written three centuries after the Arabian conquest of Persia, and long after the Persians had adopted the religion and literature of the Arabs, is said not to contain a word of Arabic. All the cultivated languages of Hindustan contain more or less of Persian, with its adopted Arabic; and the Hindi, or current language of Upper India, a great deal. Yet this last can be written, and as an experiment has actually been written, with the exclusion of Persian and Arabic.

The languages of Southern India, which in sound, in form, and in the majority of their words, have no affinity with the languages of Northern India, contain a considerable amount of Sanscrit; but can, notwithstanding, be written omitting every word of that language. The most cultivated languages of the Malay Archipelago contain a good deal of Arabic, and more of

Sanscrit ; but they can be written easily without their Arabic, and without much difficulty without their Sanscrit element. The principal languages of the Philippine Islands differ essentially in sound, structure, and words, from the neighbouring Malay languages, yet contain a very considerable infusion of Malayan words : they can, however, be spoken or written without the help of the latter. In all the cases thus enumerated there is no difficulty in deciding which portion of a language is primitive and fundamental, and which adventitious ; and in several of the examples adduced history aids us in deciding.

Our own literature affords abundant examples of the facility with which sentences may be constructed without the help of the French element of our language. That element, however, is so considerable in amount, and so indispensable to the perfection of our speech, that it is difficult to find passages of any length without words of it. I give the two following well-known passages from Shakespeare as examples :

*" Pandulph. Lady, you mutter madness, and not sorrow.
Constance. Thou art not holy to belie me so ;
I am not mad : the hair I tear is mine ;
My name is Constance ; I was Geoffrey's wife.
Young Arthur is my son, and he is lost :
I am not mad ; I would to heaven I were !
For then 'tis like I would forget myself :
O, if I could, what grief should I forget !"*

King John, act iii, scene 3.

In this passage there are but two words which can be suspected to have come from Norman French, *name* and *grief*, and they probably belong equally to the Anglo-Saxon. The second passage contains no word which can even be suspected to be of French origin :

*" Griffith. His overthrow heaped happiness upon him ;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little."*

King Henry VIII, act iv, scene 2.

The proportion of Norman French in our vocabulary is usually reckoned at one-sixth part, or five-sixths of our language is of German origin ; although in use, from the nature of the words of the latter, the proportion is much greater. I believe the proportion of French words in our language has not materially altered in the lapse of near five centuries, or since Chaucer wrote. It should be remarked that it is by no means indispensable to the efficacy of the test referred to, that a sentence should be grammatical. It is enough that all the words necessary to its construction should be of one language.

Tried by the test which I have now endeavoured to describe, the Gaelic and Welsh languages will be found to be, not sister tongues derived from the same parent, as are Italian and French, but two distinct languages. Their particles and auxiliaries are all wholly different. The phonetic character of the two languages differs very materially; and, with the exception of a comparatively small number, their words are wholly different. I shall endeavour to compare the two languages under these three heads.

The Gaelic and Welsh languages are both written in the Roman alphabet, and in some modification or another of it must always have been so. The Irish, it is true, have sometimes laid claim to the invention of indigenous letters; but it is certain that before the introduction of Christianity and its literature, they were as unlettered as the Cannibals of New Zealand. With the exception, indeed, of the people of Greece and Italy, and perhaps the Scandinavians with their Runes, no nation of Europe had invented an alphabet of its own; in striking contrast with the people of Asia, many of whom, as rude in other respects as the ancient Britons and Irish, were yet possessed of the art of writing, their own special and independent inventions.

An alphabet which, like the Roman, was invented to represent the sounds of a single language (the Latin), could not be expected to represent faithfully the multifarious languages of Europe, most of which are phonetically so fundamentally different from it; and to no European tongues does this more cogently apply than to the Gaelic and Welsh. The many sounds of the Gaelic, as it is written, are represented by no more than eighteen characters, five of which are vowels, and thirteen consonants, including in the latter the aspirate. But while the characters are few, the sounds are many,—the vowels amounting to eighteen, and the consonants to twenty-four. The Welsh alphabet consists of twenty letters, of which seven are vowels and thirteen consonants; but the actual sounds reach to thirteen vowels, and the consonants to twenty-four.

Even in the matter of sound, in which particular the two languages certainly make the nearest approach, there is much disparity. In the Welsh language there are three consonant sounds unknown to the Gaelic. These are the two English sounds of *th*,—the unaspirated in the words “this” and “that,” and the aspirated in the words “think” and “thanks,” with the double *ll*. The last is thus described by a Welsh grammarian: “This letter,” says he, “represents a sound said to be peculiar to the Welsh language. In pronouncing it the tongue assumes the same position as in forming *l*, and the breath is finally pro-

pelled on each side of the tongue, but more on one side than the other." The learned author's precept is not likely to be practised to any effectual purpose by a stranger ; and, indeed, it is broadly asserted by Welshmen that the genuine sound is never attained except by those who have acquired it in childhood.

The Gaelic has also sounds unknown to the Welsh. These are a double *ll*, which, as far as I can make out, does not materially differ from the same sound expressed by the same characters in Spanish, as in the word "*llana*,"—a plain and a peculiar guttural which, if not the same, closely resembles in sound that of the nineteenth letter of the Arabic alphabet. Both these, united by a peculiar vowel, are found in the Gaelic monosyllable which is the name for a calf. This is written, or ought to be written, "*llegh*," and its true pronunciation is a puzzle to all who do not acquire it in infancy. The word is not improbably taken from the voice of the calf ; and that its last letter resembles in sound that of the Arabic one with which I have compared it, may be inferred from the directions for its pronunciation given by the celebrated orientalist Meninski, who to accomplish it instructs the learner to imitate the voice of a calf calling to its dam.

There is one characteristic which is supposed to belong specially to all the languages called Celtic, and to distinguish them from all other tongues. This consists in changing certain of the consonants for others, or even altogether eliding them, according to the position of such consonants in a word. For this purpose Irish and Welsh grammarians have divided the consonants into what they call radicals and aspirates ; the first being such as are not amenable to the conversion in question, and the last those which are subject to it. The process is known under the name of aspiration ; but as the converted letters are not necessarily, and indeed hardly in any case at all aspirated, a more inaccurate term could not well have been employed ; and one only wonders, indeed, how it ever came to be employed. In writing the two languages the practice has been to annex the aspirate, or letter *h*, to the converted or elided letters ; but in this case it is simply as an orthographic mark, and it seems to be this mere accident which has given rise to the improper term "*aspiration*." The Irish in their printed works have lately substituted a dot over the converted letter ; but the Scots and Welsh still persevere in using the *h*, so that with them a written word may sometimes consist of many more letters than it has elemental sounds.

Besides the employment of the aspirate for the purpose now stated, it is also used in combination with other consonants to

represent sounds for which the Roman alphabet has no representative character. This employment of the aspirate as a mere orthographical mark, is by no means confined to the Gaelic and Welsh languages, for it extends to our own and other European languages. The combinations, *ch*, *gh*, *sh*, and for which, in the oriental alphabets, there exist distinct characters, are examples.

The practice of commuting or eliding consonants is more frequent in writing the Gaelic and Welsh languages than in other written tongues, but is very far from being a distinctive character of them. In our own language and in the French there are abundant examples where, as Sir Cornewall Lewis observes, "the letters of a word, instead of representing the true sounds of the voice, the word itself becomes an arbitrary symbol of the sound." The Scottish Gaelic was not, however, always so written; for we find by the book of the Dean of Lismore, dating A.D. 1511, that it was written in a phonetic alphabet. In later times, however, the example of the Irish, who certainly carried the cultivation of the language to the greatest extent, has been followed in Scotland.

The only theory which it appears to me will account for the discrepancy between the written and spoken Gaelic and Welsh, is the supposition that, when they were first committed to writing, they were pronounced as we now find them written. Before the Irish and Welsh were taught by strangers to write, they were unquestionably in a very rude and barbarous state; and we can readily believe that their languages must have partaken of their own ruggedness and barbarism. In such a rude state their languages were first committed to writing, and the practice, which has its convenience for etymology, was continued after the languages had attained a certain measure of refinement, and ceased to be pronounced as when first written. In writing, the Irish and Welsh have, in fact, pursued a course the very reverse of that followed by the other nations of Europe, who, in proportion as their languages have been refined, have departed more and more from the original pronunciation and orthography. If nations of the south of Europe had, in writing their languages, followed the practice of the Irish and Welsh, they would, as nearly as possible, have preserved the Latin orthography; their grammarians dividing their consonants into immutable and mutable, or, as the Irish call them, radicals and aspirates; and in their grammars we should have directions for commutation and elision.

The changes which foreign words adopted by the Gaelic and Welsh are made to undergo, sufficiently corroborate the view thus taken of the question of mutation. A few examples may

be given, and I take them from the Irish Grammar of Donovan. The Latin verb to write, *scribo*, is written, and no doubt must have been once pronounced *scrib*, which is the original word with the elision of the final vowel. In modern Gaelic the letter *b* has in the Irish a dot over it, and in the Scots is followed by the aspirate, both being signs that the letter is a commuted one, and converted into a *v*,—a sound for which the imperfect Gaelic alphabet has no special representative. The Latin word *sagitta*, an arrow, was written, and, it may be presumed, pronounced in old Irish *sagit*; but, in modern Gaelic, the orthography is *saigead* by the Irish, and *saigh* by the Scots; while the pronunciation, through the elision of the *g* and the change of one dental for another at the end of the word, becomes *said*. The Latin *capra*, a goat, was, in the old Irish orthography, written *gabhr*, and so no doubt pronounced. Here we have one guttural converted into another, and one labial into another, but they are not marked as commutable letters. In modern Gaelic the letter *b* is marked as a commutable, but is in fact elided; so that in pronunciation the word, which is pronounced *goär*, becomes but the mere shadow of the original Latin one. In Welsh, the Latin *capra* becomes *gafr*, and in Breton *gawr*, the last expressing very nearly the Gaelic pronunciation.

The improved orthographic system adopted for the Breton or Armorican affords further corroboration. The convertible letters are the same as in the Welsh and Gaelic, and in French are called *lettres mobiles*, or movable letters. These are represented by characters which express their actual sounds, while grammatical rules are given for their commutation in composition. Hence the Armorican alphabet, instead of consisting, like the Gaelic and Welsh alphabets, of twelve consonants, has no fewer than twenty. In this system *k* is substituted for the ambiguous *c*: *q*, which does not exist at all in the Welsh and Gaelic, is added; but *h* is not included in the number; for in the Breton it is not sounded, but preserved only for etymology; while *w*, which is called a vowel, is really a consonant, having the sound of the same letter in English.

The object of the commutation in the Armorican orthography is clearly described in the grammar prefixed to the celebrated Dictionary of Le Gonedec, which is of the same authority for the Breton as that of the Academy for French. "Usually," says the author, "the letters are changed from strong to weak, for softening the pronunciation. Sometimes, however, the change is from weak to strong, for the purpose of distinguishing two words of the same sound, but of different meanings, from each other."

It must not be forgotten that ample time for great changes has elapsed since the Irish and Welsh languages were first committed to writing. The time at which this took place—probably the fourth century—preceded that in which the languages derived from Latin were first committed to writing in the countries of Southern Europe, for the Latin long lingered as the written one.

It is, finally, to be observed on this subject of mutation, that the commutable consonants are not identical. In the Gaelic they are *b* (always hard); *d* (dental); *f*, *g* (hard); *m*, *p*, *s*, and *t* (dental). The Welsh wants the *f* and *s*, and adds its peculiar double *ll*.

I come next to the evidence of grammatical structure as a test of the affinity of languages, so much relied upon of late by learned Germans. It is by this test chiefly that they come to the very startling conclusion that the leading languages of ancient and modern Europe have all sprung out of a dead language of India; or yet more extravagantly, from a language of the highest tableland of Central Asia, of which the very name and locality are pure myths. The corollary follows, that all the races speaking them—black, brown, and fair, the Celts included—are of eastern origin. I have on former occasions expressed my disbelief in the validity of this test, and will take this opportunity of briefly recapitulating a few of the arguments which have led to my dissent from so wild an hypothesis.

All the languages of America—and those who have endeavoured to reckon their number have estimated them at above 1,200—have a common grammatical structure—one which distinguishes them from all the other languages of the world. This, adopting the German test of affinity, ought to prove that all the American languages had one common origin; but the theory is at once demolished by the crushing fact that, with the exception of the languages of a few neighbouring tribes and nations which have borrowed a small number of words from each other—the vocabularies of the numerous languages in question are wholly different. An agreement in grammatical structure is, therefore, in this case no evidence of affinity of language, nor does it even go to prove affinity of race. With one material exception, all the inhabitants of America—continental and insular—are usually admitted to be of the same race of man. But the Esquimaux—a wholly distinct race from all the other people of America—speak a language of the same peculiar grammatical structure as the languages of the Red Man, the same disagreement in its words existing as in the latter.

From the eastern borders of Bengal to the utmost eastern limits of China, the numerous languages spoken, are without an exception, monosyllabic, or their words consist of single syllables, which necessarily admit neither of inflection nor composition. They are, therefore, unavoidably of the same grammatical structure. But the words of these languages are wholly different, even when the race of man is the same; and of the races of man there are at least two clearly distinct ones, the Chinese being an example of one, and the Burmese and Siamese of the other.

The many languages of the Malayan Archipelago, excepting those spoken by the negro race, have a common grammatical character. Their phonetic character is alike, and their structure has the same fashion; but the great body of their words is entirely different; and when they happen to be common to any of them, we know to what sources to trace their origin, and this almost as surely as we can the Norman-French in our own language. In spite, then, of a common agreement in structure, and even of a more or less admixture of words—a result inevitable in a region in which, from its physical geography, intertribal communication must immemorially have been frequent—the languages of the Malay Archipelago must be considered as separate and distinct tongues, and, indeed, it may be added that there hardly exists in this region such a thing as a mere dialect.

A similar conclusion is arrived at from an examination of the languages of the neighbouring Philippine Archipelago. These, with the exception of the Negrito languages, agree in phonetic character and grammatical structure, and both are quite peculiar. Here, too, there is a considerable intermingling of each other's words from the same cause as in the Malayan Archipelago, yet leaving the great body of the words of each language peculiarly its own. There is also some admixture of Malayan words, but we know them, by their mutilated form, to be strangers, and can trace them to their foreign sources.

If we go to the islands of the Pacific Ocean we there find an example of one wide-spread language, in which phonetic character, grammatical structure, and vocabulary all agree, and where the differences are merely dialectic, while the race of man is one and the same. An accordance in grammatical structure alone would here not be sufficient to prove an affinity of language, still less of race; but the first of these, at all events, is attested by an agreement almost identical in words. The language referred to has no general name, each group of islands having one peculiar to itself. From its wide expansion,

however, European writers have named it the Great Polynesian. Within the Northern Pacific, with the single exception of the Sandwich group, this language is unknown, and a variety of tongues prevail, the only link which connects them consisting in a small admixture of Malayan words found also in all the dialects of the Great Polynesian. Yet here the race of man seems throughout to be one and the same with that which speaks the Great Polynesian, the various Negro races of the Southern Pacific being wholly absent in the Northern.

The facts now stated must, I think, be admitted as proof sufficient that the boasted test of an agreement in the mere structural form of languages is inadmissible as evidence of affinity. By it, notwithstanding, I proceed to compare the Gaelic and Welsh languages. These two tongues have each one article only, the definite, but the terms which express it are wholly different. The nouns of the two languages agree in being all masculine or feminine, and by the absence of a neuter gender. The plural number of the noun is formed in an entirely different manner in the two languages. The Gaelic noun has three cases formed by inflections of the nominative, namely, a genitive, a dative, and a vocative. The Welsh has no cases formed by inflection, or other change in the nominative, and relies on prepositions to express relation. The prepositions which express relation in the three languages are entirely different words. The Gaelic adjective undergoes changes in gender, number and case to agree with the noun, but the Welsh adjective does so only as to gender and number. The manner of forming the degrees of comparison in the two languages differs wholly. The pronouns of the two languages are expressed by words wholly different.

The verb in the two languages differs essentially in formation, as the following examples will suffice to show. The Gaelic verb has four moods, an indicative, a conditional, an imperative, and an infinitive. Its indicative has five tenses, a present, a consuetudinal, a present perfect, a consuetudinal perfect, and a future. The Welsh verb seems, on the whole, to be more perfect than the Gaelic: it has but three moods, an indicative, an imperative, and an infinitive, but its indicative has no fewer than six tenses, a present, a preterite, a preterimperfect, a pluperfect, and a first and second future. It wants the consuetudinal tense of the Gaelic, which signifies that the action is in the custom or habit of being performed.

The substantive verb and the auxiliaries of the two tongues are represented by terms entirely different. The manner of forming verbal nouns in the two languages is also different.

It has been stated that the formation of compound words by

the help of prepositions and postpositions is a distinguishing characteristic of all the languages called Indo-Germanic, or Aryan, and among these as a derivative of the Sanscrit have been reckoned the Gaelic and Welsh. No such manner of compounding words is known to either of these languages, and, therefore, in so far as this character is concerned, they are not of the pretended class in question.

I come, finally, to the glossarial test, which in a comparison of languages, must ever be the most complete and satisfactory. I have compared, with all the care I could command, the Irish dictionary of O'Reilly, with the Welsh of Spurrel. The first contains better than 50,000 words, and the last above 33,000; and in this multitude, I could discover not more than 200 which were common to the two languages. In nearly every case of these there was a difference in the form of the words in the two languages, and this independent of the factitious difference arising from disagreement in their orthographic systems. Occasionally, indeed, there is a variety, even in the meaning attached to the same word in the two tongues. A more important fact is, that the word common to them seldom stands alone, being in fact but one out of one or more synonymses.

I cannot pretend that all the words common to the Gaelic and Welsh are included in the number I have stated, for no doubt some have escaped my research. All I wish to assert is, that the number is comparatively small, and is far from furnishing evidence of the two languages being sister tongues, of a common parentage.

Taking the Welsh vocabulary for an example, the Gaelic words in it will not exceed one word in 166. The English language, it is needless to insist, contains an incomparably larger proportion of Latin words directly or indirectly introduced; the French, Italian, and Spanish languages a much greater proportion of Teutonic words; even the Spanish, at least as many Arabic words. But we know, historically, the real origin of all these languages—know the English to be of Germanic origin, the languages of the South of Europe to be derived from the Latin, while the other elements of all of them are extrinsic.

The Malay and Javanese languages—and I refer to these as having been the special objects of my own attention—contain, the Malay a greater, and the Javanese a far greater number of Sanscrit words than does the Welsh or Gaelic, or the Gaelic of Welsh words; and this, too, in a far clearer and more perfect form than do the words common to these two tongues.

With respect to the class of words common to the Gaelic and Welsh, they seem to me to be such as we can readily believe would gain admission into the languages of neighbouring people; and the probability is that they proceeded from the language of the more advanced and powerful to that of the least advanced and weakest. Such infusions are well known to have taken place among rude nations in other parts of the world where intercourse was far more difficult, and the two British islands cannot be supposed to be an exception. The words common to the two indigenous British tongues are of a very miscellaneous character, but they are never such as are indispensable to the structure of language, while both tongues can be written or spoken without their assistance.

For illustration, I will refer to the names of plants and animals, indigenous or of foreign origin, immemorably acclimated or domesticated. To begin with plants: the name for oats is essentially the same in the two languages, and seemingly native. For barley, the names in the two languages are different, and native in both cases; but the Welsh for a synonyme has the Anglo-Saxon term. The name for wheat, apparently native, is different in the two tongues. That for rye is from the Anglo-Saxon in Welsh, but from Latin in the Gaelic. The name for the pea in both languages is taken from the Latin: for the bean, it is native in Gaelic, and taken from the Latin in Welsh.

For the oak, the Gaelic has but one name, but the Welsh three, one of which seems the Gaelic one in an abridged and imperfect form. For the ash, the elm, the fir, the alder, and the willow, each of the two languages has its own native name or names. In both languages the names for flax and for hemp are taken from the Latin, without any native synonyme. The heath, the fern, and the moss have different names in the two tongues. The sole Gaelic name for peat extends also to the Welsh, which, however, has besides its own native name.

With respect to the domesticated animals, it seems not improbable that several of them were indigenous both in Ireland and Wales, and that they were domesticated by the native inhabitants in times far beyond the reach of history, or credible tradition. This is, indeed, implied by their names. In Gaelic, the cow has a native name, and the Welsh the same word; but the Gaelic alone has a name taken from the Latin. It is singular that in neither language is there a native name for the bull, for in both it is taken from the Latin, although the Welsh adds the Saxon word, with considerable corruption, as a synonyme. The name for the calf is native, and the same in the two

languages—a monosyllable of impossible pronunciation to a stranger. The name for the steer is native, and different in the two languages.

The generic name for the horse is native, and the same in the two languages; but the Gaelic has also two synonyms taken from the Latin, although one of them is generally restricted to the mare, which, however, has also its native name. As with the bull, there is no name for the entire horse, unless an epithet; and, indeed, the Gaelic has adopted the Saxon word. The absence of a specific name for the bull and entire horse most probably arose from the carelessness of a barbarous people to the improvement of their cattle. The cattle of our remote forefathers were most probably multiplied without selection of sires, as are now the ponies of Shetland and the Hebrides, the wild cattle of the American Llanas, and cattle of every description—the camel included, among nearly all the eastern nations.

For the hog, the same native name prevails in the two languages; while for the boar and pig, the names, although native, are wholly different. The only name for the goat in Gaelic, is taken from the Latin; but the Welsh has besides two native names. The name for the kid is the same in the two tongues. May it not be inferred from these facts that the goat was indigenous in Wales, but not in Ireland; and that the probability is that it was introduced into the last of these countries, in its domestic state, by the Romish or other missionaries, whose language was Latin, or a derivative from it. The sheep and the ram have distinct native names in the two languages; but for the lamb, in both the term is Latin,—traceable, I have no doubt, to the well-known Scriptural simile. For the dog, the Gaelic has a native name, and also one supposed to be derived from the Latin. The Welsh has only the last of these. In both languages the half-domesticated rabbit—a foreigner in these islands—takes its name from the Latin; implying, no doubt, its introduction by Roman agency.

All the wild indigenous mammalia will be found to bear different names in Gaelic and Welsh. This applies to the deer, including the doe and fawn; to the roe, the hare, the fox, the wolf, the polecat, the weazel, the stoat, the seal, and the whale.

Among birds I can discover but one, the goose, which has the same name (a native one) in the two languages; and but one also which takes its name from the Latin:—this is the pigeon, which in both tongues is a corruption of the Latin *columba*. It is beyond question that the blue-rock pigeon, the source of all the varieties of the domestic bird, is indigenous in

the British islands, and therefore must have had a native name superseded by the Latin one. The probability then is, that it was the Roman monks or missionaries who first made the Irish and Britons acquainted with the domestic pigeon. A similar adoption of foreign names for indigenous birds has taken place in the English language itself on a far larger scale, as in the instances of the partridge, the plover, the eagle, and the falcon.

Among fishes I cannot discover one that has a name common to the two languages, whether they be of the sea or of fresh water. Our choicest fishes, the salmon, the trout, the turbot, the dory, the sole, the mullet, which have Norman-French names in English, to the loss of their Saxon ones, have their distinct and separate names in Gaelic and in Welsh. It is remarkable that although the Welsh have a native name for the turbot, the Irish and Scots Gaelic has no other than a corruption of the French word; but the fish is not frequent on the Scots or Irish coasts, and it has been only within the last fifty years that some turbot-banks have been discovered on them,—evidence of unskilfulness on the part of the Irish and Highland fishermen. With one exception, it is the same with reptiles; the exception being the serpent, the Gaelic name of which appears as a synonyme in the Welsh; which, however, has besides two native names of its own. So it is with crustaceans, and even insects, for all of which the names are different in the two languages.

I may here notice that French, as well as the majority of English writers have adopted the theory of the unity of the two languages which I am now endeavouring to show are distinct tongues. In an elaborate dissertation prefixed to the Breton Dictionary of Le Gonedec, the last edition of which is of as late a date as 1847, the writer makes this attempt, in my opinion, very unsuccessfully. As evidence of what he considers but mere dialects of one language, he produces a number of words which he finds to be substantially the same in the Breton and Welsh on one hand, and in the Irish and Scots Gaelic on the other. In so far as concerns the small number of words which are common to the two languages, the author is, of course, successful; but not confining himself to those, he adduces a number belonging to the Breton and Welsh, but which have no existence at all in the Gaelic of Ireland or Scotland. He does even worse than this, for he brings forward as evidence of unity the words which the two languages have equally derived from a common source, the Latin; and among these are to be found the numerals, with the names of the days of the week, the Latin origin of both of which is beyond all question.

Among the proofs brought forward in favour of a common origin of the Welsh and Irish languages, are the names of ancient places in France and England, in parts of those countries where both tongues have long been superseded by foreign idioms. Such names, however corrupt in form, are still clearly traceable to one or other of the two languages in question. Sometimes the names of such places are composed of words common to the two languages, while in others we find them to consist of Welsh words unknown to the Gaelic, or of Gaelic unknown to the Welsh. It is the same with the modern names of places in Wales and Brittany, and in Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland; in all of which, however, the great majority of the names of places consist of native words. All this would seem only to prove that in the remote and unknown times when the names of ancient places were imposed, there existed, as now, some words common to the two languages.

If the facts and arguments adduced in the course of this paper are admitted, we must come to the conclusion that the Gaelic of Ireland and Scotland, with the dialect of the Isle of Man, on one hand, are the same language; while the Welsh and Breton, with the now extinct Cornish, are essentially the same on the other; the two classes of languages being essentially separate and distinct languages, a small number of words only being common to them, and these never so essential but that either tongue may be spoken or written without recourse to them.

Granting this to be the case, it will naturally be asked, How it comes that nations speaking the same languages are found on the opposite sides of two straits of the sea, the one the British and the other the Irish Channel, while the two languages contain some words that are common to them? A satisfactory answer to this question would require more archæological knowledge than I can command: perhaps, indeed, more knowledge than the obscurity of the subject will admit. I shall, therefore, chiefly rely on such internal evidence as the languages themselves furnish.

Britain and Ireland, like all other great islands, must have had their own distinct and peculiar aboriginal inhabitants before strangers, by conquest or colonisation, settled in them. In modern, and therefore authentic times, the Asiatic islands of Java, Sumatra, and Luconia; the Austral islands of Australia, New Guinea, and New Zealand; the American islands of Hayti and Cuba; and the African island of Madagascar, were all found inhabited by a peculiar people speaking distinct languages. The British islands then, it is to be inferred, could

not be without aboriginal inhabitants, unless we suppose them to be an exception to a universal rule. What the languages spoken by those aborigines were, is unknown and unknowable, except in so far as we may suppose them to be the same with those still spoken by their descendants under the modern names of Welsh and Irish.

To begin with Britain. When, through the Roman invasion, its inhabitants first became known to the civilised world, near two thousand years ago, they were certainly very rude barbarians, but they were not savages; for men in possession of cattle, of iron and brass, and who cultivated corn, could not be called savages. But they seem to have been ignorant of textile fabrics, and were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, while they were wholly unacquainted with letters,—an ignorance, however, which they shared with the people of the neighbouring part of the Continent: indeed, with those of all Europe, the inhabitants of Greece and Italy excepted.

What language or languages were spoken in Britain when it became known to the rest of the world, is not told; for both Greeks and Romans, not sharing the curiosity of modern Europeans on this subject, have given us no information. Our earliest and most authentic knowledge of Britain and that portion of the Continent which had intercourse with it, is derived from the *Commentaries* of Cæsar. Gaul was in Cæsar's time divided among three different people, exclusive of those of the Roman Province, and these speaking three different languages. Of the three nations, two only—the Celts and the Belgians—have any reference to the present question. The Celts, the most numerous, and occupying the most extensive territory, reached from the Garonne to the Seine; while the Belgi occupied the space from the latter river to the Rhine, including part of modern France and all Belgium. Cæsar tells us that Belgian colonies occupied a considerable portion of the west of Britain in his time, the colonists preserving even the names of the cantons of their mother country. There can be little doubt but that the Celts must have done the same; and Tacitus tells us that the Britons directly opposite to Gaul had the same manners and superstitions with the Gauls,—that is, with the Celts,—and differed but little from them in language. If such were really the case, the people of the west, in the time of Cæsar, and of Tacitus (not very remote from it) spoke two languages, the Belgian and the Celtic. Now, if we suppose the Celtic to be the same with the language of which a remnant has been preserved to us, through the inaccessibility to conquest of the mountainous Brittany, it would follow that the language of a

considerable portion of the inhabitants of the Britain of Cæsar and Tacitus spoke Breton or Welsh. According to this view, Britain received colonies from Gaul, and not Gaul from Britain. But it received also Belgian colonies; and if, as is generally believed, the Belgians were a Teutonic people, a German tongue must also have been introduced. What language was spoken by the wild people of the interior of Britain, by men represented as clothed in skins, and living on flesh and milk—a people nearly in the hunter state—is of course unknown. But it is certain that both the Belgians and the Celts must have been a more civilised, and therefore a more powerful people than the natives of the interior; for this is to be inferred from the very fact of their seizing land and forming settlements. The Belgians, the most warlike of the people of Gaul, seem not to have been the only Teutonic people settled in Britain; for Tacitus, judging by their physical form, is disposed to think that the Caledonians were so. The invasion of Britain by Scandinavian tribes, and their settlement in Britain, which was of such frequent occurrence for many centuries after the time of Cæsar and Tacitus, it is not unreasonable to believe must have often taken place for many centuries before it; and if this were the case, Britain would have been occupied, besides its own aboriginal inhabitants, with two foreign races,—the one speaking a Germanic, and the other a Celtic tongue. All ancient migrations, it may be added, appear to have been directed on Britain, and none to have proceeded from a country now distinguished beyond all others for emigration.

With regard to Ireland, one race speaking one language, the Gaelic, seems to have pervaded the whole island up to the comparatively recent invasion of Norman-French and Saxons. The fact of the extension of a single language over so wide a country would seem to prove that the people of Ireland, two thousand years ago, were in a more advanced state of society than at least the aborigines of Britain. This fact is the same as that from which we infer that the people of Madagascar, as we really find them to be, are more advanced in civilisation than the tribes of the opposite coast of the continent of Africa. As in Britain, Northmen made in Ireland repeated incursions on its coasts, but no permanent settlement or conquest as there. The Romans, so long in occupation of the greater part of Britain, never attempted the conquest of Ireland,—an enterprise, from the remoteness of the island, too difficult to undertake. Irish antiquarians speak confidently of Spanish colonists, but certainly there is no satisfactory record of them whether as to race or language; and it must not be forgotten that the ancient inhabitants of Spain were

by no means an enterprising people, and that if they undertook expeditions to Ireland, it is what they never did to any other country.

Ireland, in possession of a more extensive territory and a more fertile soil than the adjacent parts of Britain, it is reasonable to believe would attain an earlier civilisation than these; consequently possess more power, and engage sooner in foreign enterprises and conquests. It was probably, therefore, the source of the extension of the Gaelic language to neighbouring countries; or, in other words, the original country of the Gaelic language. As far as history reaches, however, the same language was found to prevail over the mountainous part of Scotland, including the Hebrides, and extending south as far as the Friths of Clyde and Forth. Dates have even been assigned to the times in which the emigrations took place, as, for example, one of A.D. 258, and another of 503, handed down, of course, on Roman authority, for they could not have been derived from a rude people who knew neither epoch or chronology or even writing. These dates, however, probably refer only to particular expeditions from Ireland for the purpose of making conquests in Scotland over men of the same race and language with the conquerors, and can hardly have reference to the first peopling of an extensive territory and first introduction of the Gaelic language into Scotland, with the supersession of the language of the aboriginal inhabitants. Ireland and the parts of Scotland in which the Gaelic language was spoken, were probably considered as no more than portions of the same country. To a maritime people, —and the early Irish were so,—to cross the narrow sea which divided themselves from the people speaking the same language in Scotland, would be an enterprise of no greater difficulty than sailing the same distance along their own coast.

The conversion to Christianity of the two peoples speaking the languages the subject of this paper, namely the Welsh and Irish, forms an epoch in their history; for it was marked by a considerable influx of Latin, the language through the medium of which the conversion was effected. None of the countries of the people in question had been conquered and permanently occupied by the Romans, and the conversion of the inhabitants, therefore, could only have been effected by the missionaries of religion without any aid from the civil power.

I have searched, with the best care I could bestow, for words of Latin origin in the Gaelic dictionaries of Ireland and Scotland, and in the Welsh and Breton dictionaries, and have found not fewer than two hundred and fifty, and no doubt a more skilful search would add considerably to this number. These

words, as always happens in such cases, are more or less corrupted to suit the genius of the languages adopting them ; but they are not so disguised as to be seriously difficult of detection.

The character of the words introduced will show, to some extent, the effect which the new religion must have produced on the social condition of the barbarous and heathen people converted. Nearly all the words connected with religion are, as might be expected, of Latin origin, as God, devil, angel, heaven, hell, soul, body, belief, creator, creature, sin, benediction, prayer, sermon, priest, clerk, clergy, bishop, church, religion, the cross, Bible, Sabbath, Christmas, baptism, marriage.

Of words implying the communication of useful knowledge, the whole series of numerals from an unit to a thousand, the names of the days of the week, the terms for month and hour, the names of the metals,—that is, of iron, copper, silver, gold, and even tin,—the names for barley, rye, flax, hemp, oil, mill, money, and to count or reckon, are from the Latin.

All the words bearing on the introduction of letters are of course of Latin origin, such as to write, to read, pen, paper, teacher, pupil, school. To these may be added words of an abstract nature, which we may well believe that the languages of a very rude people would be deficient in, such as time, nature, glory, honour, labour, cause, people.

The inhabitants of the southern parts of Britain are asserted to have been converted to Christianity during the time of the Roman dominion, and most probably about the beginning of the fourth century, when the Roman Emperors themselves had adopted it as the national religion. The mountaineers of Wales, never subdued, must have been converted by missionaries from the low country. The Irish were not converted until the fifth century, the date assigned to their great apostle, St. Patrick, being as late as A.D. 432. The Caledonians or Scots, speaking the same language with the Irish, were converted a century later ; and then, in all likelihood, through missionaries from Ireland, for in A.D. 503 a great emigration of Irish took place, with a settlement in Scotland. The great apostle of Scotland was St. Columbus, no doubt an Irishman.

The existence of Latin words in any Gaelic writings handed down by tradition, I may take this opportunity of stating, would prove them to be more or less adulterated, if they pretended to an antiquity beyond the era of the introduction of Christianity. Applying this rule to the poems of Ossian, whether those translated or rather paraphrased by Macpherson, or such as have been handed down by oral tradition without his name, we discover words of Latin origin, which, had they been of the ages of

Ossian, whose heroes are always represented as heathens, would not have been the case. We find, for example, such words as shield, sword, arms, gold, and silver, of Latin origin; but, above all, the names of the numerals from an unit up to a thousand,—a class of words here of a compass not likely to exist in the language of a people so rude as must have been the Irish and Caledonians of the time ascribed to Ossian.

No satisfactory knowledge, I imagine, can in the present inquiry be derived from the names given by the people to themselves or their country, or imposed by strangers. With respect to countries more especially, it happens but rarely that those of large extent, inhabited by several nations, are found to have a common native name among rude people. With them every islet has its proper, distinct name; but usually, from sheer ignorance of their insularity, the great ones have seldom specific names, each portion of them being usually called after the nation inhabiting it. For illustration I may state that, while every islet of the Malayan and Philippine Archipelagos, amounting to many thousands, have specific names, the great islands, such as those of Borneo, Sumatra, New Guinea, Luconia, and even Java, have no native ones, their present designations have been given to them by strangers in very modern times.

Applying this principle to the countries inhabited by the people speaking the Gaelic and the Welsh with its cognate Briton, it seems doubtful whether any of the greater regions occupied by them had specific native names, while the many islets on their coasts certainly had those which they still bear. The Romans gave to France, from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, the name of Gallia, and called its inhabitants Galli,—words of unknown origin; but the natives had no common name for so wide a territory. The Roman name of the whole country, according to Cæsar, was taken from its principal inhabitants, who called themselves, however, Celtæ,—probably pronounced Keltæ,—which was the name which the Greeks more correctly gave to all the inhabitants of ancient France. Of this term, however, there is certainly no vestige in the native languages of Ireland, Wales, or Armorica, although the Britons consider themselves, and in all likelihood justly so, the descendants of the people whose native name was Keltæ.

The term Bretagne in French, and Brittany in English, was applied to the country which the Romans called Armorica, from two words common to the Gaelic and Welsh languages. *Ard*, a height or high land, and either *muir*, the sea, or more probably *mor*, great or extensive, is unknown under that designation by its present inhabitants, who name their country Breir.

The name of Brittany is said to have been given to it when, in the fifth century, it received a large access of inhabitants from Britain ; but this was, most probably, bestowed by strangers.

Of the etymology of the word *Britannia*, employed by the Romans, there is certainly no certain knowledge. Some have derived it from the *Prydain* of the Welsh or the *Bhreatunn* of the Irish ; but I think it far more likely that both these words are corruptions of the Latin word *Britannia*. It is not, indeed, at all probable that a country of such extent, and inhabited by so many rude and hostile tribes, and differing even in race, should have a common name. I may repeat that the names of all great countries have been bestowed by strangers more civilised than their own inhabitants. Of this, the names of Italy, Spain, Germany, are examples in Europe ; and India and China in Asia ; to say nothing of the great geographical divisions, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia. Of the abstraction which leads to the formation of such terms, barbarians—and our forefathers were sheer barbarians, although not savages,—have no conception.

The etymology of the word *Wales*, which the French write *Galles*, is unknown, unless it be a corruption of the Roman word *Gallia*. At present the Welsh call themselves *Kymri*, and their country *Kymru*,—words of unascertained origin, and admitted to be of comparatively modern adoption. North and South Wales are known by two different names.

Ireland is the only great country which has a native name, the well-known one, *Erin*. From this is believed to be taken the Latin name *Hibernia*, which the Bretons or Armoricans have converted into *Iverdun*. The word *Erin* is equally the name for Ireland with the Scots Highlanders as with its own natives ; but they never apply the adjective for Irish, derived from it, to themselves, whom they distinguish by the name of *Gaelach* ; using as a correlative the term *Galda*, pronounced *Galla*, for the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, with *Eirannach* for a native of Ireland, without generally having any conception that they are themselves the very same people with the Irish,—in so far, at least, as a common language makes them so.

If the facts and arguments adduced in the course of this paper are valid, the languages which are its subject are two distinct and separate tongues. Bede indeed, seven centuries ago, pronounced the Welsh and Irish to be as different from each other as Latin and Saxon. So far, then, as language can be considered a test of race, and to the extent that one European race of man differs from another, the parties speaking the two

languages must be viewed as distinct original races. The difference between the two people in intellectual endowment may not be appreciable any more than it is in other European races; but, physically, I think it is admitted that the Welsh are shorter in stature, and darker in complexion, than the people at least of the western part of Ireland, where there has been the least admixture of foreign blood.

But between the two languages there exist, as already stated, a few words which are common to them, although none that are indispensable to their structure; none without the use of which either tongue may not, without much inconvenience, be spoken or written. The question is, how these words came to be common to them. Some kind of intercourse between two people at no very remote distance from each, must have taken place in times far beyond the reach of history or tradition; and in the course of such intercommunication, words of one of their languages would certainly be infused into that of the other. I venture to suggest that Ireland, a country more fertile and extensive, and therefore more likely to give birth to early civilisation than Wales, was the source from which the common words proceeded. In one quarter of the country, a part of South Wales indeed, the Irish went much further than communicating a few words of their language; for they conquered and occupied it, imposing on the inhabitants their own tongue, just as the Anglo-Saxons in the low and fertile parts of the island imposed theirs.

The communication of a few words of one neighbouring tongue to another,—usually of the language of a more to that of a less advanced people,—is, indeed, no more than what has often occurred in other parts of the world; and I will adduce, in illustration, a few examples drawn from my own special studies. Into all the principal languages of the Philippine Islands there have been introduced at least double the number of words of the principal languages of the Malayan Archipelago that I suppose there are of Irish words in the Welsh or Armorican; and this, although there be as wide a difference in the pronunciation and structure of the two classes of languages as there is between those of English and French, or those of German and Italian. In these cases the infused words are altered or corrupted to suit them to the genius of the languages adopting them; and a similar change, I am satisfied, is made in the Irish words adopted by the Welsh language.

In all the chief languages of the Malayan Archipelago there are found an incomparably greater number of Sanscrit words than there are of Irish words in Welsh; and yet there is nothing

in common between the Sanscrit and those languages, whether as to pronunciation or structure. Here, too, the infused words undergo an alteration in form; but because introduced not orally, but through writing, far less than in the Irish words found in Welsh. So it is with the five languages of Southern India, spoken by some thirty millions of people. They differ wholly in their structure from the Sanscrit, but contain a great many words of that language, always more or less altered to adapt them to the genus of the tongues adopting them.

If the Gaelic language on side, and the Welsh and Armorican on the other, be two distinct tongues, and not, as the common denomination of Celtic would give us to understand, dialects of the same tongue, it will of course follow that the people speaking the Gaelic language, whether of Ireland or of Scotland, had no share in the great enterprises of the people known to the Romans as Gauls. The people who established themselves in Northern Italy, who captured Rome, overran and plundered Greece, and, under the name of Galatians, established themselves in Asia Minor, were the Celts,—men who spoke the same language which is now spoken in Wales and Brittany; although it is not likely that the inhabitants of these poor and remote countries had any share in such enterprises.

The Welsh, on the very slender ground of a resemblance in sound between their own name of Cymry, have laid claim to be the descendants of the Cimbri, one of the three formidable tribes, who, a hundred years before the birth of Christ, invaded the Roman province of Gaul, crossed the Alps, and were defeated by Marius. The Romans could not tell from what country the invaders proceeded, but from their tall stature and blue eyes they concluded they were Germans. Had they been a people of Gaul, the Romans, who had been long in possession of a portion of that country, could hardly have been ignorant of the fact. They were, therefore, not Celts; and, to say nothing of the word Cymry being a modern one, they could not possibly have been Welsh.

APPENDIX.

LATIN WORDS IN GAELIC AND WELSH.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Abbey	Abbatia,	Abaid	Abatty
Account	Computatio	Cuntas	Cyfrifon
Ache	Dolor, pœna	Pian	Dolur, poen
Act, deed	Actus	Achd	
Adultery	Adulterium	Adhaltras	
Aid, help	Cooperatio	Cobhair	Cywair
Alm	Alumen	Alm	Allawg
Alms	Eleemosyna		Elusen, cardod
Altar	Altaria	Altair	Allor
Angel	Angelus	Aingeal [tair	Angel
Animal	Animal, creatura	Ainmhidh, creu-	Anifail, creadur
Arm (the)	Brachium		Braich
Arms, weapons	Arma	Armach	Arf
Author	Auctor	Ughdair, athair	Awdur
Beast	Bestia	Beist	Bwystfil
Belief	Fides, credere	Creadeas	Ffydd, cred
Bible	Biblia	Bioball	Bibl
Bitter	Acerbus	Searbh	Chwerw
Book	Liber	Leabhar	Llyfr
Body	Corpus	Corp	Corff
Bridge	Pons		Pont
Brute	Brutum, animal	Bruid, ainmhidh	Anifail
Bull	Taurus	Tarbh	Tarw
Camp	Campus	Campa	Camp
Cause	Causa	Cas	
Candle	Candela	Cainneal	Canwyll
Care	Cura	Curam	Cur
Castle	Castellum	Caisteal	Castell
Cellar	Cellarium	Seilear	Seiler
Centre	Medius	Meadhon	Mewn
Chair	Carrus	Cathair	Cader
Cheese	Caseus	Cais	Caws
Cherry	Cerasum	Cirist	Ceirios
Canvass	Cannabis	Cainb	
Chest	Cista	Ciste	Cist
Church	Ecclesia	Eglais	Eglwys
Clergy	Clerus	Cleir	Cler
Clerk, writer	Clericus, scribens	Cleireach	Clerig
Cloud	Nubes	Neul	Niwl
Column	Columna	Colbh	Colofn
Common	Communis	Cumanta	
Corse, dead body	Corpus, cadaver	Corp, cairbh	Corff
Cow	Bos	Bo	Buwch, bu
Creation	Creatio	Cruthaidh	Cread
Crime	Crimen, peccatum	Cron, peacaich	Pechod
Cross	Crux	Crois	Croes, crog
Crown	Corona	Coron, crun	Coron
Copper	Cuprum	Copar	Copr

<i>English.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Curse	Maledictum	Mallachd	Melldith
Damnation	Damnatio	Damnadh	
Dart, arrow	Sagitta	Saighead	Saeth
Day	Dies	Di	Dydd
Dead	Mortuus	Marbh	Marw
Deity	Deus	Dia	Duw
Devil	Diabolus	Diabhol	Diawl, diafol
Disciple	Discipulus	Deiscobal	Disgybl
Dog	Canis	Cu	Ci, pl. cwn
Double	Duplex	Doubladh	Dyblyg
Dove	Columba	Colman	Colomen
Eight	Octo	Ochd	Wyth
Emerald	Smaragdus	Smarag	Emrallt
False	Fallax	Fallsa	Fals
Favour	Caritas	Cairdeas	Cardod
Fig	Ficus	Figis	Ffigysen
Firmament	Sphæra, æther	Speur, adhar	Pfurfafen
Five	Quinque	Coig	Pump, pum
Flax, lint	Linum	Lion	Llin
Foot	Pes		Ped
Fortune	Fortuna	Fortan	
Four	Quatuor	Cathair	Pedwar
Friday	Dies-Veneris	Di-h-aoine	Di-Gwener
Ghost	Spiritus, anima	Spiorad, anim	Yspryd
Glory	Gloria	Gloir	
Glove	Manua	Meatag	Maneg
Goat	Caper	Gabhar	Gafr
God	Deus	Dia	Duw
Gold	Aurum	Or	Aur
Grain	Granum	Graine	Gronyn
Heaven	Sphæra, æther	Speur, adhar	Awyr
Hell	Infernus	Iffrin	Uffern
Help	Cooperare	Cobhair	Cywair
Homily	Sermo	Searmon	
Honey	Mel	Mil	Mel
Honour	Honor	Onoir	
Horn	Cornu	Corn	Corn
Hemp	Cannabis	Cainb	
Horse	Equus, caballus	Each, capull	Ceffyl
Hour	Hora	Uair	Awr
Hundred	Centum	Ciad	Cant
Iron	Ferrum	Iarunn	Haiarn
Island	Insula	Eileann	Ynys
Jail	Carcer	Carcair	Carchar
Join, unite	Unus		Uno
Juice	Succus	Sugh	Sug
King	Rex	Righ	Rhi
Labour	Opus	Oibair	Llafur
Lance	Lancea, lamina	Lann	Llafyn
Land	Terra	Tir	Tir
Letter	Litera	Litir	Llythyr
Life	Vita	Beatha	Bywyd
Light	Sol, solis	Solus	Haul
Like	Similis	Samhail	Hafal

<i>English.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Lime	Calx	[ter	Calch
Lord, master	Tyrannus, magis-	Tighearn, maigh-	Meister, teyrn
Mail	Lorica	Luireach	Llurig
Man	Vir	Fear	Gwr
Manner, mode	Modus	Modh	Modd
Marble	Marmor	Marmor	Marmor
Mare	Caballa	Capull	Ceffyl
Marriage	Sponsus	Pos	
Martyr	Martyr	Martarach	Merthyr
Master	Magister	Maighstir	Meister
Matin	Matutinus	Maduinn	Meityn
Measure	Mensura	Measarrachd	Mesur
Middle	Medius	Meadhon	Mewn
Mile	Mille passuum	Milé	Mill-dir
Mill	Mola	Muilheann	Melin
Monday	Dies-lunæ	Di-luain	Dydd-llun, di-llun
Money	Argentum	Airgoid	Arian
Month	Mensis	Mios	Mis
Moon	Luna	Luan	Lleuad
Murder	Mors	Mort	Marw
Name	Nomen	Ainm	Enw
Nation	Populus	Pobull	Pobyl
Nature	Natura	Nador	Natur
Nest	Nidus	Neud	Nyth
New	Novus	Nuadh	Newydd
Nine	Novem	Naodh	Naw
Noise	Fama	Nuiam	
Number	Numerus	Nimir	Nifer
Oar	Ramus	Ramh	Rhwyf
Ocean	Mare, abyssus	Moir, abheis	Aphwys
One	Unus	Aon	Un
Oil	Oleum	Ola	Olew
Oration	Oratio	Oraid	Araeth
Order, decree	Ordo	Orduh	Urdd
Pain	Pena	Pian	Poen
Pair (a)	Par		Par
Paper	Papyrus	Paipair	Pabwyr
Peas	Pisum	Peasar	Pys
Pear	Pirus	Peur	Per, peren
Pen	Penna	Penn	Pin
People	Populus	Peobull	Pobl
Pepper	Piper	Peibbair	Pupur
Pigeon	Columba	Caluman	Colomen
Port	Portus	Port	Porth
Price	Pretium	Pris	Pris
Prime	Princeps	Priouns	Prins
Prison	Carcer	Carcar, prisonan	Carchar
Psalm	Psalmus	Salm	Salm
Purgatory	Purgatorium	Purgadair	Purdan
Question	Questio	Ceist	Cais
Rabbit	Cuniculus	Coinean	Cwning
Rat	Rattus	Raddan	
Read	Lego	Leighin	Dar-llen
Reason	Ratio	Reasan	Rheswm
Risk	Periculum		Perygyl

<i>English.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Robber, thief	Latro		Lladron pl.
Rose, (the)	Rosa	Rós	Rhos
Rye	Secala	Seagl	
Sabbath	Sabbatum	Sabaid	Sabbath
Sack	Saccus	Sac	Sach
Sacrament	Sacramentum	Sacramaid	Sagrafen
Sad	Tristis	Tuirse	Trist, athrist
Salt	Sal	Salann	Halen
Saturday	Dies-Saturni	Di-Sathairn	Dydd-Sadurn
School	Schola	Sgoile	Ysgol
Scythe	Falx	Taladair	Pladur
Sea	Mare, abyssus	Muir, aibbeis	Mor
Season, time	Tempus	Tim	Tynmor, tympt
Seven	Septem	Seacha	Saith
Shield	Scutum	Sgaith	Ysgwyd
Silk	Sericum	Sioda	Sidan
Silver	Argentum	Airgoid	Arian
Sin	Peccatum	Peacadh	Pech
Sing	Canere		Canu
Sit	Sedere	Suid	Seddu
Six	Sex	Se	Chwech
Sky	Sphera, æther	Speur, adhar	Awyr
Soul	Anima, spiritus	Anam, spiorad	Eneid, yspryd
Sort, kind	Sors	Seorsa	
Spoil, plunder	Spolia	Spuill	Yspail
Stork	Ciconia		Ciconia (chwibon)
Sum	Summa	Suim	Sum
Sunday	Dies-Domenica	Di-domhnuaich	Dydd-Sul
Sword	Gladius	Claidheamh	Cledd, cleddyf
Temple	Templum	Teampull	Teml
Ten	Decem	Deich	Deg
Tender, soft	Tener		Tyner
Testimony	Testimonium	Taisbean	Tystiad
Thousand	Mille	Mil, deich-ceud	Mil, deg-cant
Thursday	Dies-Jovis	Di-ardoun	Dydd-iou
Three	Tres	Tri	Tri
Time	Tempus	Tim	Tymp
Tin	Stannum	Staoin	Ystaen
Tower	Turris	Tur	Twr
Tribe	Tribus	Treubh	Tref
Tuesday	Dies-Martis	Di-mairt	Di-mawrth
Twenty	Viginte	Fichead	Ugain
Two	Duo	Da	Dau
Vine	Vinum	Fionan	Gwinwydd
Wall	Paries		Pared
Wax (bees)	Sera	Ceir	Cwyr
Wednesday	Dies-Mercurii	Di-idion	Di-mercher
Wheel	Rota	Roth	Rhod
Wine	Vinum	Fion	Gwin
Witness, testimony	Testis, finis (?)	Fianuis	Tystio
Write	Scribo	Sgroibb	Ysgrifo, ysgrifenu

Note.—A few of these words have probably been taken from the Norman French element of English, and consequently in comparatively modern times ; but the majority, as they do not exist in the English language at any period of its history, must have come direct from the Latin.

WORDS COMMON TO THE GAELIC AND WELSH LANGUAGES.
NOUNS.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Back, hindpart	Coul	Cil
Bard	Bard	Bardd
Bark, rind	Rusg	Rhisgl, rhisg
Battle	Cath	Cad
Bell (a)	Clag	Cloch
Belly	Bolg	Bol, bola
Besom	Sguab	Ysugb
Billow, wave	Tonn	Ton
Birch (the)	Beithe	Bedw
Bird, fowl	Eeon	Edyn
Blossom	Blath	Blodeuyn, blawd
Boat	Bata	Bad
Brain	Eanchainn	Ymenydd
Branch, bough	Meangan, ceug	Cangen, cainc
Breath	Anail	Anadl
Breech (the)	Ton	Tin
Brother	Brathair	Brawd
Butter	Im	Imenyn
Cabbage	Cal	Cawl
Calf	Laogh	Llo
Cape, headland	Rinn	Penryn
Cat	Cat, cood	Cath
Cheek (the)	Gruaidh	Grudd
Cloud	Neul	Niful
Coal	Gual	Glo
Cock, male bird	Caileach	Ceillog
Country (a)	Tir	Tir
Cuckoo	Cubag, cuag	Cog
Custom	Nos	Moes
Ear (the)	Cluas	Clust
Fire	Teine	Tan
Fist (the)	Dorn	Dwrn
Fish	Iasg	Pysg
Floor	Urlar, lar	Llawr
Foot	Troidh	Troed
Forest, a wood	Coille	Celli
Frost	Reodhadh	Rhew
Fuel	Connadh	Cynud
Furrow, trench	Clais	Cwys
Gap	Bealach	Bwlch
Goose (the)	Geadh	Gwydd
Gristle	Maothan	Mwythan
Hair, of the head	Falt	Gwallt
Hammer	Ord	Gordd, ordd
Head	Ceann	Pen
Hill	Beinn	Bryn
Hole	Toll	Twll
Horse	Marc	March
House	Tigh	Ty
Idiot	Amadan	Ynfydyn
Kidneys	Ara	Aren

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Knee	Glun	Glin
Knoll, mound	Meall	Moel
Lake, pool	Linn	Llyn
Lamb	Uan	Oen
Leaf	Duille	Deilen
Leg	Cos, cas	Coes
Life	Beatha	Bywyd
Load, burden	Luchd	Llwyth
Loss, detriment	Call	Coll, colled
Man	Duine	Dyn
Marrow	Smear	Mer
Mesh	Mogul	Masgyl
Mountain	Monadh	Mynydd
Neck (the)	Muineal	Mwnygl
Oak (the)	Darach	Derw, dâr
Oats	Corc	Ceirch
Pace, step	Ceum	Cam
Peat	Moine	Mawn
Pillow	Cluasag	Clustog
Pipe	Piob	Pib
Pool, pond	Poll	Pwll
Raven (the)	Bran	Bran
Rib	Aisna	Asen
Rock	Carraig, creag	Craig
Rod	Slat	Llath
Sail, of a ship	Seol	Hwyl
Salt	Sallann	Halen
Sea	Muir	Mor
Seed	Siol	Hil
Ship	Long	Llong
Son	Mac	Mab, ab, ap
Sow	Muc	Hwch
Spit (a)	Beor	Ber, per
Stack	Cruach	Crug
Strand	Traigth	Traeth
Stream (a)	Srath	Ffrwd
Strength	Nearth	Nerth
Swan (the)	Eald	Alarch
Tallow	Geir	Gwer
Tartan plaid	Breacan	Brycan*
Tear (a)	Deur	Dagr, deigr
Thunder	Tarnach	Taran
Time	Aimsir	Amser
Tree	Crawn	Bren
Warp (the)	Dluth	Ystof, dylof
Wind	Anail	Anaf
Woman	Bean	Bun
Wool	Olann	Gwlan
Yard, area	Lann	Llan
Year	Bleadhna	pl. Blynedd, blwyddyn a.

* In Welsh, a blanket.

ADJECTIVES.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Bad	Droch	Drwg
Bald	Maol	Moel
Big	Mor	Mawr
Black	Dubh	Du
Blind	Dall	Dall
Blunt	Maol	Pwl
Broad	Leathan	Llydan
Clean	Glan	Glan
Cold	Fuar	Oer
Deaf	Bodhar	Byddar
Deep	Domhain	Dwfn
Fruitful	Torach	Toreithiog
Full	Lan	Llawn
Good	Math	Mad
Grey	Glas	Glas
Harsh	Garbh	Garw
Heavy	Trom	Trwm
Little	Beag	Bychan, bach
Low	Tosal	Isel
Narrow	Caol	Cul
Old	Sean	Hen
Pale	Glas	Glaswyn
Quick, living	Beo	Byw
Rigid, stiff	Teann	Tyn
Round	Cruinn	Crwn
Sweet	Millis	Melys
Thin	Tana, eaol	Teneu, cul

VERBS.

Burn	Loisg	Llosgi
Follow	Lean	Canlyn, dylin
Grind, bray	Meil	Malu
Hear	Cluinn	Clywed
Hide, conceal	Ceil	Celio, celu
Lose	Call	Colli
Mix	Measgaich	Mysgu
Mock	Mag	Moc
Pack	Pioc	Pigo
Pierce	Toll	Tyllu
Ride	Marcaeich	Marchogaeth
Speak	Labhair	Llafaru
Stretch	Sin	Estyn

GAELIC AND WELSH PARTICLES.—PREPOSITIONS.

Above	Suas	Uwch, goruwch, uwchben
Across	Thair	
About	Mu	Perthynol, goruwch
At	Tagus do, fagus, airlamb, ri	Yn, wrth, ar, ger
Before	Roimh	O fhaen, rhag
Behind	Air uchul	Yn ol, ar ol, o'r tu cefn

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Beneath	Fuidh	Is, islaw, isod, obry
Between	Eadar	Rhwng
By	Le, tre, trid, troimh	Gan, wrth, trwy, ger, gerllaw
From	O, bho, uith	O, oddi, o wrth, oddi wrth
In	An, am, ann, awns	Yn, mewn, o fewn
Of	De, dhe, ri, ris, gu, gus, chum	O
On	Aer	Ar, warthaf
Through	Troimhe, tre, tria, roimh	Trwy
To	Do, ri, ris, qu, qus chum, chun	Y, at, hyd, wrth, yn
Towards	Do chum, thun, fagus do	Tu, tuag, at
Under	To, fodha, fa	Dan, tan, is, goris
Unless	Sao o, mur, mus, nach	Oni, onid, onis
With	Le, leis, maille ri, mar ri	A, ag, gyda, efo
Within	A'stigh	Mewn, o fewn, tu fewn, yn ty
Without	Gun, as eugnchais	Heb, di
Yet	Tos	Eto

AUXILIARY VERBS.

Be	Bi	Bod, hanfod
Do	Dean	Gwneud
Can	Aithnu, tuig	Gallaf
May	Faod	Gallaf
Have	Guilain, caith, meat, larr	Cael
Will	Tarr	Ewyllis, gwyllis

CONJUNCTIONS.

Also	Maraon	
And	Agus, is	A, ac
As	Nur	A, ag, can, ceyn
Because	Gu	Canys
But	Ach, mur	Nam, ond
Either	No	Ai
If	Ma, na	O, os, od, pe, pes, ped
Or	No, air, nes	Na, nac
Than	Na	Na, nog
That	Gu, gum, gurchum	Mai
Though	Gidhead, ged	Er
Unless	Saoro	Oni, onis, onid
Yet	Tos	Eto

ADVERBS.

Again	A ris	Eilwaith, drachefn, eto, hefyd
Ever	Idir, riamh	Bob amser, yn wastad
Here	An so	Yma
How	Cia mar	Pa, mor
Indeed	Gu firinneath	Yn wir, yn ddiau
Never	Gu brath	Nid, braidd, nid un amser
No	Ni, cha	Ni, nid, nis, nac, nag, nad, nas,
Often	Tric, minic	Yn fynych, llawer gwaith
Perhaps	Theagamh	Ya-gatfydd ; efallai
Soon	A chliago, gu luath	Yn fuan
Then	Air sin	Y pryd hyn
When ?	Cuin	Pan, pa pryd

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gaelic.</i>	<i>Welsh.</i>
Where ?	Caite	Yn mha le, yn mha fan
Why ?	C'arson, ciod uime	Paham
Yes	'Seadh, se, tha	Iâ, do, oes.

The pronouns, conjunctions, and adverbs, of the two languages contained in the enumeration above given, amount to about two hundred and twenty ; yet there are not above half-a-dozen which seem to be the same in the two tongues. As examples, the English preposition "from" is represented both in Gaelic and Welsh by the word "O." Our preposition "in" is in Gaelic represented by the word "an," which is most probably the same as the Welsh "yn." The English conjunction "than" is expressed by the word "ni," equally in the two languages. So is the negative, "no," by the word "ni." Most probably, however, such rare coincidences are merely accidental, and do not infer affiliation. Such coincidences are to be found between languages which have no relationship whatever to each other. Thus, the Latin preposition "de" is to be found in the remote Malay, with the very same meaning. Considering that the greater number of particles are monosyllables, and consequently, that the range for selection is necessarily limited, the wonder only is that such coincidences are not more frequent.

J. C.

BRONZE IMPLEMENTS.

1.—POWIS CASTLE COLLECTION.

IN the month of October, 1862, some labourers digging an ordinary four-foot drain in the parish of Guilsfield, in Montgomeryshire, came upon a collection of bronze implements and weapons of various kinds, which, together with a small lump of fused metal, had been carefully deposited, and probably were once contained in some box or vessel, which gradually decaying left the contents almost in the same position as when secured in their case. The field in which they were found lies to the south-east side of Rhualt, a little above the site of the Abbey of Strata Marcella, and about a hundred yards from a small earthwork marked in the Ordnance Map as Crowther Camp. The Rev. D. P. Lewis, vicar of the parish, and a Local Secretary of the Association, had the ground carefully examined on all sides of the deposit, but failed in discovering any additional articles. This important collection is the property of the Earl of Powis, who has most liberally presented the Association

with the two plates which accompany this notice. The drawings were carefully prepared by one of its members, and have been reproduced half the size of the originals.

The bronze of which the articles are composed is of darkish colour, without any approach to the lighter or more yellow kind. The implements are all more or less covered with a beautiful green oxide nearly of the same tint, except in one or two cases where the colour is lighter. All of them, moreover, appear to be made of the same kind of bronze, as if they had formed the stock-in trade of some dealer or manufacturer of such articles,—a supposition confirmed by the presence of the fused lump of the same kind of metal.

With the exception of the winged celts or paalstabs, there are no very early types of the various implements; while the peculiarly long tubes, and more particularly the bronze scabbards, if they are such, point to an advanced period of what may be called “the bronze age,”—a term, however, to be used only under certain limitations. When the men of the stone age first learnt the use of metal, they naturally copied their hitherto sole implements, with such modifications as a necessary economy in the use of the metal suggested; and consequently in the earlier specimens we can trace the stone prototype with ease, which, however, by degrees disappears under the successive additions of flanges, wings, stops, and sockets. There must, however, have been a period when stone and metal implements were in use at the same time; and probably the former, especially in the case of large hammer-heads or other heavy tools, were continued to a period long after the smaller ordinary stone implements were discontinued; so that it is impossible to determine the exact limits of a pure bronze age, even if such a period ever existed. In the present instance, therefore, it will be perhaps more correct to assign to the Guilsfield articles a period approaching the latest *general* use of bronze.

The whole collection consisted of the following articles:—Four spear-heads of various sizes, in perfect con-

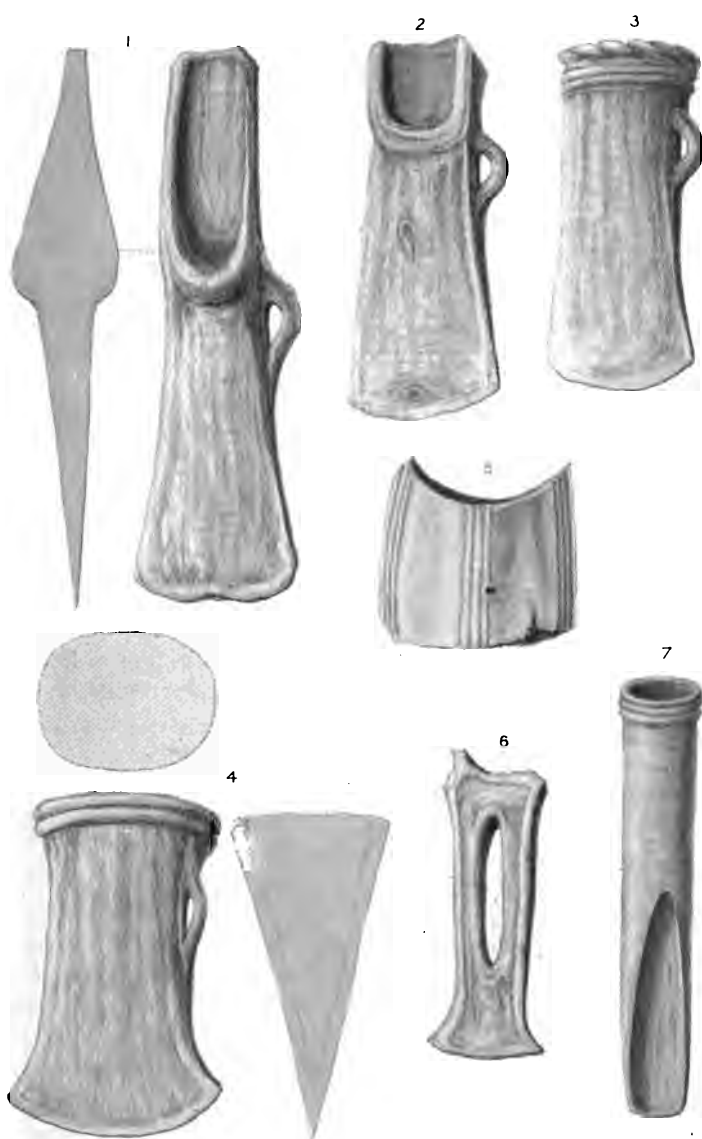
dition ; three others with their points broken off ; three broken portions of similar weapons ; twelve tubes or ferules, six of which were perfect, and the remainder more or less damaged,—the shortest of the perfect ones measures ten, the longest sixteen inches ; eight celts and paalstabs, some of them imperfect ; two googes ; handle-plate of a sword still retaining a rivet ; a ferule of uncertain use ; five sword-blades, some broken ; sixteen scabbards, seven perfect, the remainder damaged ; one fused lump of metal of the same character as the weapons ; fifty various fragments.

Portions of the above have since been given by the owner to the Museums at Shrewsbury and Ludlow. The remainder at present are at Powis Castle. As many of these are similar in character, a selection only has been made as sufficient to illustrate the whole. It will be remembered that the figures drawn are half the size of the originals.

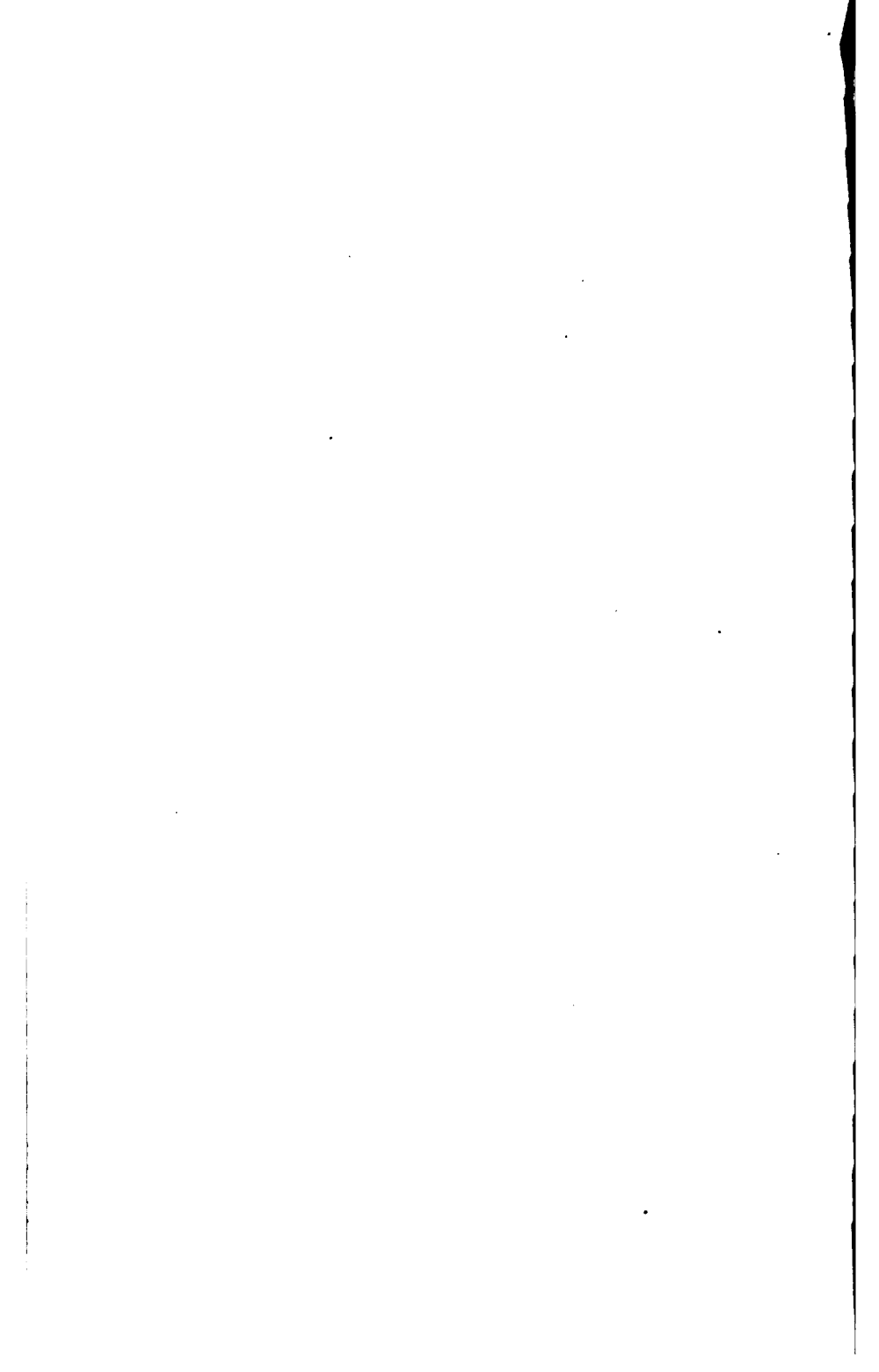
No. 1.—A paalstab or winged celt, the cutting edge of which has been broken. Whether this has been the result of the badness of the metal, or undue violence, the implement seems to have been disqualified for use, and intended to have been consigned to the melting-pot. On both faces are some small excrescences, which are, perhaps, more the result of oxidation than of any imperfection in the mould, as the exuding metal at the junction of the moulds has been removed.

No. 2.—A smaller example of the paalstab having the end of its shank broken off, unless it may have been from an imperfect casting. The cutting edge is useless from the latter cause, nor has the exuded metal at the junction of the moulds been removed. The weapon has apparently never left the maker's possession, as if faulty, and intended to be recast. It has also some excrescences, as in No. 1.

No. 3.—A celt having a nearly square socket for the shaft, the top of which is ornamented with two narrow mouldings surmounted with a larger one of cable pattern.



ALL HALF THE REAL SIZE



A similar moulding frequently occurs, as in the ornamented Breton celt (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1860, p. 220); although there occurring below the lip, and not forming it, as in this instance. This corded moulding, as well as the two smaller plain ones beneath, seem to be intended to represent the original sinews, or other ligature, used in securing the tool or weapon to its wooden shaft. It has evidently been much used, its cutting edge being somewhat injured, so that it may also have been intended to be recast, like the preceding specimen.

No. 4.—A somewhat similar celt without the twisted moulding, and with a differently formed cutting edge, as will be seen from the engraving. Its socket is of the same form as that of No. 3, but somewhat larger, thus admitting a stouter wooden shaft. At the junction of the moulds on the side on which the loop is, the fused metal has escaped to some extent, but has been somewhat reduced, as if by the hammer.

No. 5.—Probably part of a scabbard. There are in existence certain small bronze articles, which have been generally considered to have been the ferules or tips of wooden scabbards. In the catalogue of the Irish Museum, the figures of three such articles are given, but very unlike the one under consideration. If it is one of this class, it is evident that wooden as well as bronze sheaths of swords must have been contemporaneous, as this tip could have had no connection with the bronze articles found in company with it, and which appear to be actual scabbards. It has a simple ornament on each face, composed of three parallel lines, and is drilled with tolerably sized holes on both sides for the admission of pins or plugs. These holes are not opposite to each other, so that the pins thus prevented any lateral movement. It is not, however, impossible but that, instead of being the ferrule of a scabbard, it may have been the finish of the handle of a sword. Very little is known of the manner in which the metal

handle-plates or shanks of bronze swords were covered with wood, bone, or small plates of metal, so as to adapt them for use. That they were thus covered is clear, from the rivet-holes, and even remaining rivets, constantly occurring in them. If the wooden or metal plates fixed were so arranged as to continue the general form and outline of the blade, this so-called scabbard tip would apparently fit it with accuracy. All this, however, is mere conjecture, although the subject is one which deserves further consideration.

No. 6.—Lower portion of the plate of sword-handle. Bronze swords appear to have been furnished with handles in two ways. One method, the more usually adopted, for the smaller blades of knives or daggers, was by securing a distinct handle by three or more rivets to the broad end of the blade, the breadth of which was usually increased to admit a greater number of such rivets. The other method was by casting the shank or handle-plate with the sword itself, and then covering it with small plates of wood or bone, perhaps of metal, secured by rivets. In some instances the rivets have been found remaining; but no portion of the covering plates has yet been discovered, so that the particular manner in which they were secured is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. Dr. Wilde mentions the fact of traces of bone sides remaining on one of the few flat handle-plates in the Museum at Copenhagen, which seems to confirm his view of their being thus fitted. Another modification, and probably later, is the piercing these handle-plates in the centre, as in the instance (No. 6) here given, and which was evidently intended for securing the external plates, with the additional assistance of the two small flanges on each face. Unfortunately this specimen has lost its upper portion, the sides of which diverged and received the rivet-holes required for fastening that portion of the external case. On reference to p. 454 of the *Catalogue of the Irish Museum*, a good illustration of a similar handle-

plate will be found, and which enables us to complete the deficiency in the Guilsfield example. Being less than three inches in length in its present form, it would be small even for the grasp of a child, and even if completed would hardly admit of an ordinary man's hand. Such is the case with almost all these shanks of handle-plates of bronze swords; so that although they were intended for thrusting more than cutting, they must have been inconvenient unless the external plates of bone or wood materially increased the dimensions of the complete handle.

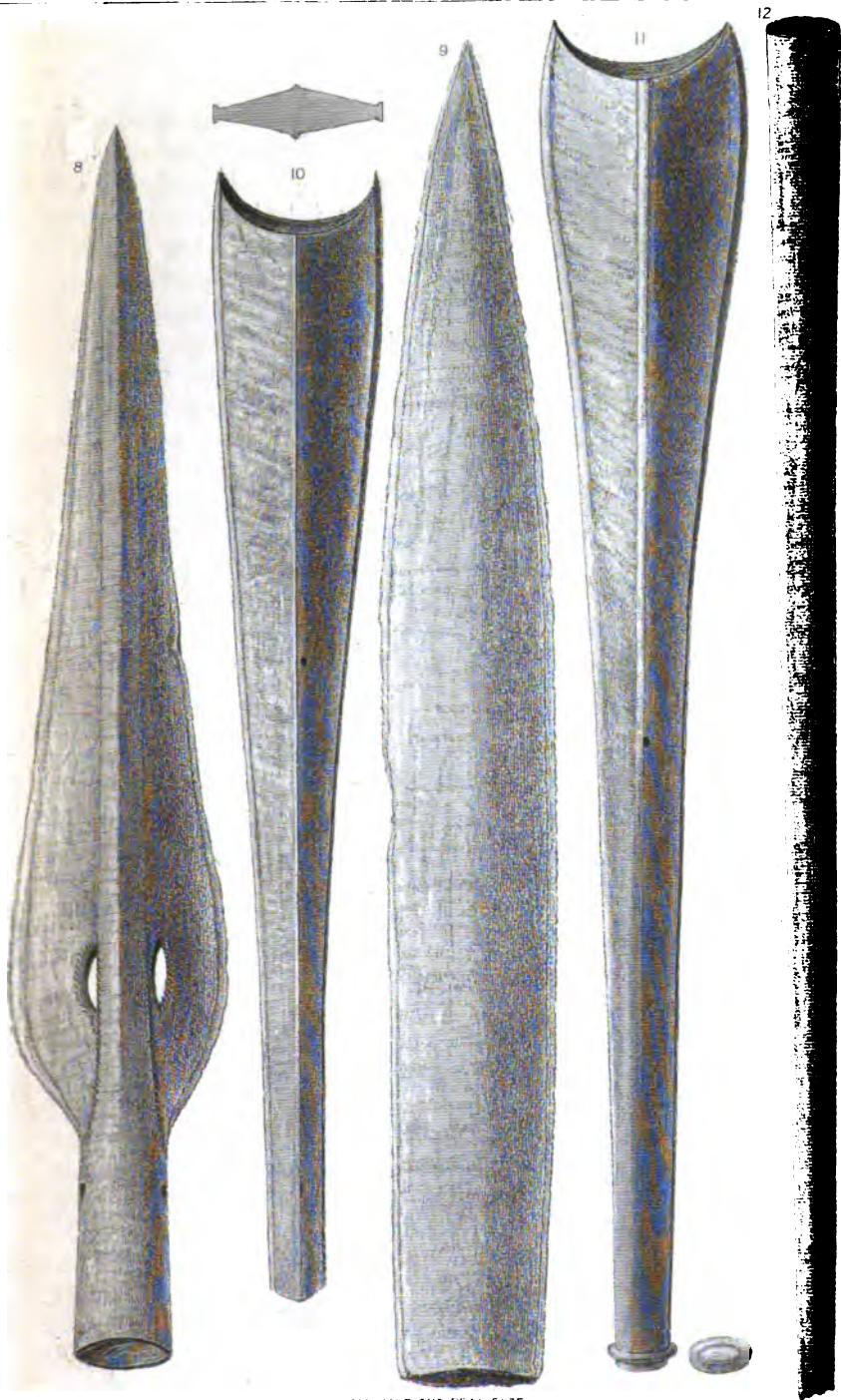
7.—A googe. Googes, though not common, especially in Wales, are by no means rare. The one here engraved is rather larger than the ordinary size, for they are found of various dimensions, some being much smaller, as if intended for finer work. This one has a triple moulding round its neck, near the socket, suggesting an imitation of the sinew or string with which such tools may have been secured to the wooden handles, as mentioned in the case of the celt with the corded moulding. In other examples the bevelled hollow commences higher up, having its diverging sides slightly curved, which is not the case in the present instance, the sides being straight and the bevelled hollow very short. It is completely incrustated with green oxyde, which may have affected the sharpness of the edge, which does not bear traces of use.

No.8.—Spear-head. This is a very fine and perfect specimen of the decorated kind, which forms the fourth variety in the classification of spear-heads adopted by Dr. Wilde. In some instances the loops or side-openings are higher up than in the present case. In the present case a simple pattern has been worked with a sharp tool, not unlike the stitches of a hem. It starts in three parallel lines from each rivet hole, or a slightly raised rib, which extends from the rivet holes to the spring of the shoulder. At this point the central line dies away, while the other two are continued in the angle formed by the central por-

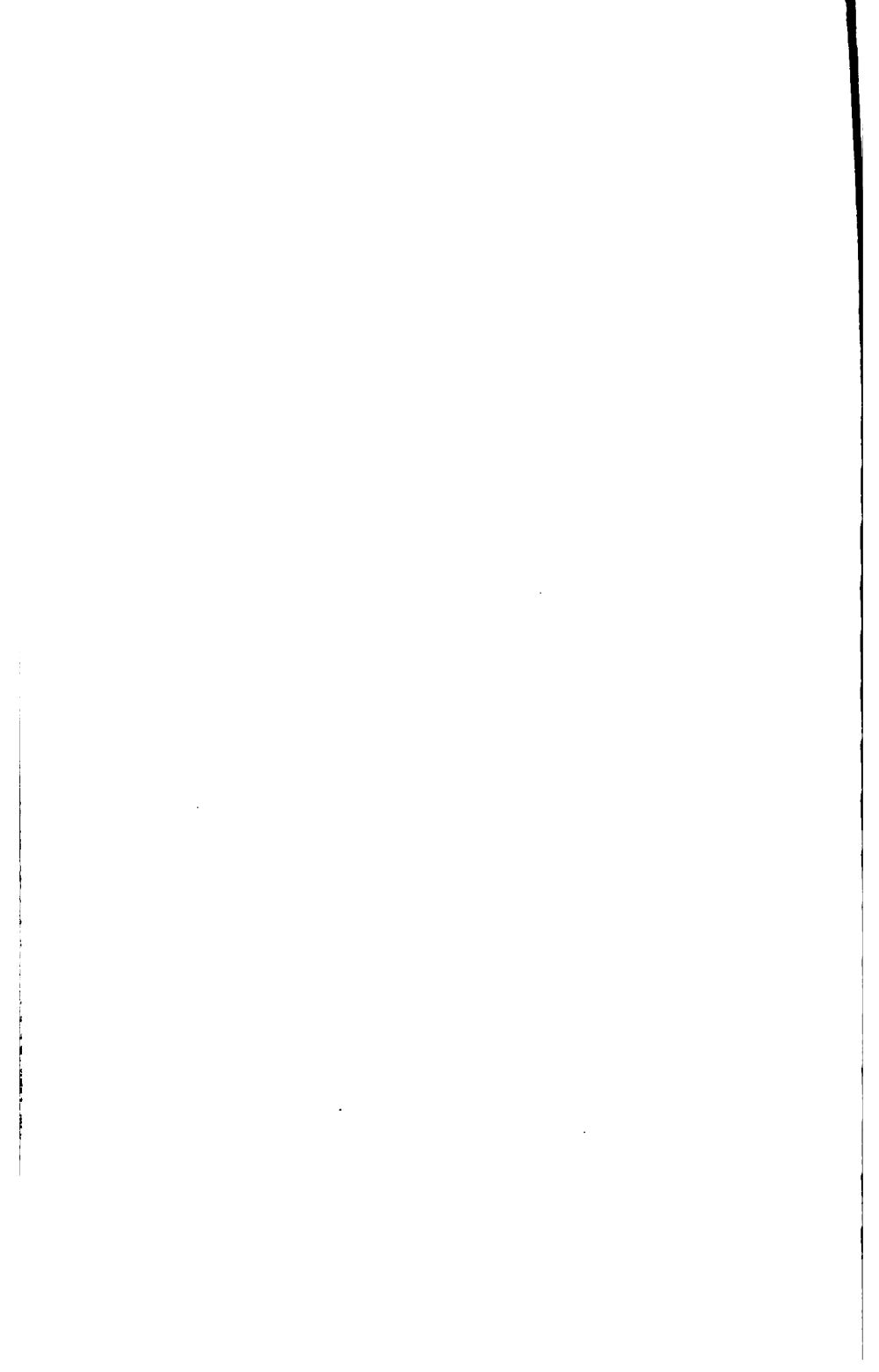
tion of the spear-head and the blade, as far as the loops round the edges of which they run. In the Catalogue of the Irish Museum a similar pattern (fig. 374, p. 499), but continued further up to near the tip of the weapon, is represented; but this ornament has been effected in the casting, and not by a tool, as in the Guilsfield specimen. The bevelled edges are nearly perfect, the failure in one part having been apparently the result of oxydation, and not accident or violence, the weapon appearing to have undergone little or no usage. The usual projecting midrib also is rather an angular ridge caused by the sloping faces of the blade, which are perfectly plain, without any approximation to a curve, as in the sword given in the next figure.

No. 9.—Sword. This weapon has unfortunately lost the lower part. In other respects it is in exceedingly good condition, the thin bevelled edges being but slightly injured, although it has evidently been used. It belongs to the class of leaf-shaped swords, although the swelling outlines characteristic of the class are not so strongly developed as in some cases. It has a thick central rib, which dies away very gradually into the blade, the surfaces on each side being hollowed out in a very slight curve. It fits into one of the scabbards, if allowed to be such, to about half its length. If these scabbards, however, were intended for swords of this shape, it is not easy to understand why they were not better adapted to the form of the blade. The existing portion of the sword is about thirteen inches, which was originally, judging from other specimens of the same type, about twenty inches. It is broken at the point where the blade usually lessens in breadth, and soon after increases to form the shoulders, beneath which would be the rivet holes for securing the casing of the handle.

No. 10.—A scabbard or scabbard-tip. It has been stated, and is generally believed, that no instance of a complete scabbard of a bronze sword has yet been dis-



ALL HALF THE REAL SIZE



covered in the three islands. It is, however, difficult to conceive that an implement like that of No. 10, measuring nearly fourteen inches in length, and apparently complete in itself, without any contrivance for being secured to a scabbard of wood, metal, or leather, is merely an appendage. The very minute rivet-holes in it can hardly have been available for such a purpose. The form of it shews that it was intended for a blade with a strongly developed mid-rib, such as occurs in early bronze swords, although the narrow, tapering end would not admit such weapons. There are, however, the two very small holes on each side, as marked in the engraving, which shew that the narrow end must, up to that point, have been filled with some material, probably wood, and which was retained in its place by a small pin through the two holes. In this case the lower portion of the scabbard could not have been intended to hold the end of a blade. It is not easy, therefore, to conjecture why the narrow end was continued to such an unnecessary length. Some of the seventeen scabbards are not provided with these small pin-holes, as in the case of No. 11; for those marked in the engraving have been erroneously introduced from the drawing. If, however, the Guilsfield "find" was the stock-in-trade of a manufacturer, the missing holes may not have yet been drilled. But for this indication of the smaller ends having been plugged up with wood or metal, one might have imagined that the sheaths were intended for a particular, unknown form of blade. In all other respects they are admirably adapted to contain a certain portion of the ordinary bronze sword as exhibited in No. 9. If the average length of these weapons be assumed to have been from sixteen to twenty-three or twenty-four inches, it is clear that only part of the sword could have entered; but sufficient to protect that part which would be thrust into the body of an enemy, and which it would be desirable to keep as sharp as possible: or they may have been intended for shorter blades, and to have been car-

ried in a belt, for no traces of any contrivance for suspension exist, as before stated. As to the question, therefore, whether they are complete scabbards, or merely appendages, the probability may appear to some to be in favour of the former conjecture. A small one of the same kind, about five inches long, now in the Museum of Edinburgh, was discovered, with two leaf-shaped bronze swords, in Forfarshire, and may have served, in the same manner, to protect the point of one of them. Mr. Albert Way has also published two examples in the *Archæological Journal* (vols. xvii, and xviii), but the longest does not exceed eight inches and a half in length.

In the lower end of the scabbard, No. 10, is a piece of metal now firmly secured to the sides by oxydation. It is hollow, as if intended to receive the tip of the sword. It has apparently not got into its position by accident, and seems to have been made to fit. It is remarkable that but for its presence the sword-blade, No. 9, would penetrate much farther. The length of this inserted metal cannot be ascertained without mutilating the so-called scabbard, but it does not reach so low as the small apertures.

The end of this scabbard is furnished with a small button, put on in an ingenious manner, indicating some skill and an advanced knowledge in metal work. It would have been simpler and easier to have formed this termination in the casting, instead of which it has been fixed on afterwards with great neatness. Without removing it by force it is not easy to ascertain the *modus operandi*, but a short round-headed plug has been fixed in the small end of the scabbard, or else cast with it. On this is fitted a pierced button, having the same convexity as the head of the plug, and secured in some particular manner which can only be ascertained by removing it. It is easily moved backwards and forwards to a short extent, and is also circular, not oval, as in the engraving.

No. 11.—A similar scabbard. This article is shorter

than the preceding one by an inch or two, but is of the same form and character. It differs, however, in not having a terminal button, or being pierced with the rivet-holes observed in the larger one, and which ought not to have appeared in the engraving. It is also a trifle broader at its mouth. A slight fracture in one of its edges exists to about four inches from the smaller end, and may, perhaps, have been the cause of its finding its way into the possession of our supposed dealer in old metal, or manufacturer of new implements. Many of the other scabbards found were also damaged.

Fig. 12.—Bronze ferrule. Twelve of these tubes or ferrules, of various lengths, from sixteen to ten inches, formed a portion of the collection. They are exactly similar to each other in form, differing only in length, the longest measuring nearly sixteen inches. The extreme length of these implements, especially as compared with their small diameters, is very remarkable. In the case of the longest specimen we have the greatest and least diameters of five-eighths and three-eighths of an inch; when in the next longest one, measuring about fourteen inches, the diameters are somewhat larger, being three-fourths and one-fourth of an inch. They are both drilled with holes for the admission of the pin which secured the wooden shaft, but the holes in the longest tube are considerably smaller than in the shorter one. They have been cast hollow, in one mould, like the scabbards, and are, especially at the larger end, of remarkable thinness, as if lightness was an object, where for some reason not very apparent, it was desirable to cast them of such a length. That they are the ferules of long lances or spears seems generally admitted, but unless the wooden shaft was much stouter than the portion inserted in the ferules, they could hardly have been very useful as spears.

II.—THE GLANCYCH ANTIQUITIES.

A few days after the Cardigan Meeting of the Association in 1859, a farmer while draining a bog near Hen feddau (old graves) came on a number of bronze

weapons and broken fragments. Information of the discovery was given to Walter D. Jones, Esq., M.D., of Glancych, who immediately went to the spot, and obtained possession of the collection, of which he sent a brief notice to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. vii, p. 313. They were subsequently exhibited at Swansea during the meeting of the Association. The exact spot of their finding was Pant-y-maen (the hollow of the stone) near Henfeddau farm, and lies exactly between two small earthworks of military character. There is a local tradition of a battle fought near Pantgwyn (White Hollow), which may, however, have derived its origin from the name of Henfeddau, and frequent discoveries of sepulchral urns at Pantgwy. This important discovery, however, of so many military weapons, between two small earthworks, seems to confirm the truth of the tradition.

The Pant-y-maen (or as they may be called from their present place of keeping, the Glancych) weapons present a striking contrast to the contents of the Guilsfield deposit, and are evidently of a much earlier date. With the exception of one article, which is of copper, they are all of a bright yellow bronze, some of them still retaining that peculiar lustrous lacquer which is often found, especially on sword blades. What this kind of varnish is, has not yet been ascertained, but is thought by Dr. Wilde to have been of a vegetable nature. No traces of ornament exist on any of the weapons, unless some rude indentations on a spear head may have been intended for such. The contrast also between the ferules of this collection and those of the Powis collection, is very remarkable—not only from the great difference of lengths, but in their form. Some of them still retain portions of oaken shafts.

Another difference to be observed is their mutilated state, as compared with the Guilsfield ones. Dr. Jones thinks they have been thus broken in battle, and have been buried along with some fallen chief. From the manner in which they have been bent and fractured (as

especially in the case of the sword) it is more probable that the destruction has been deliberately effected in honour of the dead with whom they were buried. Such a custom existed generally in the earliest times. Thus, where stone implements have been found in chambers of the earliest character, the finest and largest of them have been broken in halves, as was the case in the chambers of Tumiac and Mont St. Michel, in Morbihan. The same custom remained till the time of our Saxon ancestors, and the Merovingian period of France. It is probable that the same custom was observed in burying a chief at Pant-y-maen.

It will be seen from a brief enumeration of the articles found how complete the destruction had been, although to form an adequate opinion of the manner and violence with which they must have been thus treated, it would be necessary to inspect them personally. The swords, in particular, have not only been broken up, but twisted and bent various ways, which could only have been done with great violence, and certainly not in the ordinary fighting of the day.

1.—Leaf-shaped sword in three pieces, having its extreme tip and the lower portion of the handle blade broken off.

2.—Three portions of a similar sword, but without any portion of the handle plate.

3.—Upper fragment of another sword.

4.—The handle-plate of a sword, probably belonging to No. 2.

5.—Four ferules, two of them crushed in, and having their open ends broken. These retain their wooden shafts.

6.—Sockets of five spear heads, perfect at the lower, but mutilated at the upper ends; four of them retaining the lower part of the shoulders of the blade.

7.—One spear head, having its tip broken off, but found with it.

8.—One very short lance or spear head perfect, except that the faces of the blade have been battered in.

9.—A similar one, but the lower part of the socket battered and partly broken.

10.—Four heads of spears or lances; one of them copper, and two with straight and not curved edges.

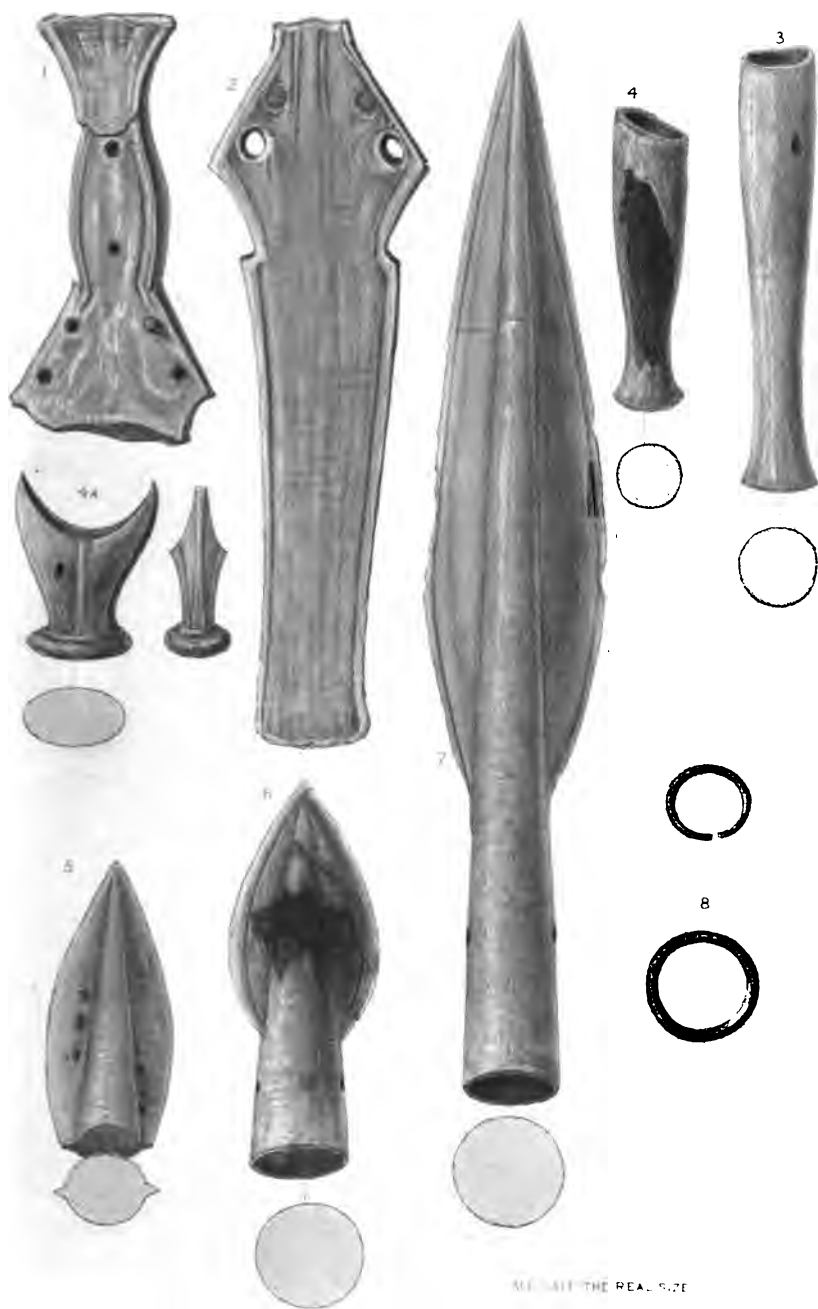
11.—The central portion of a large spear head.

12.—Tip of a scabbard; perfect.

13.—Three small rings; perfect.

14.—Various fragments of sockets of spear or lance-heads.

The following have been selected out of the above list for illustration as the most perfect and remarkable. The first of which is the handle plate (No. 1) of a bronze sword, which was in all probability connected with the second sword, mentioned above. The intervening portion, however, between the handle plate and the lower end of this sword being missing, there are no means of ascertaining whether the conjecture is correct. It, however, evidently belonged to that early class of weapons known as the leaf-shaped form. It has six rivet holes, and fortunately one rivet remaining in its place, remarkable for having both its ends slightly bevelled. As by these rivets the plates of wood, or bone, or metal, were secured to the handle plate, it may be inferred that the thickness of the completed handle was about half an inch, that being the length of the rivet. This, however, must depend on the assumption that the faces of the rivets were exactly flush with the surface of the handle; and if this was the case, the completed handle itself must have been thicker near the shoulder of the blade than near the pommel. So little is known, as has been previously observed, as to the manner in which these handle plates were covered, that even the presence of a solitary rivet becomes a matter of interest. We should, however, notice the absence of the burr, or exposed and flattened head of the rivet, which Dr. Wilde thinks indicates that the material riveted must have been metal. According to Dr. Wilde's statement, most of the handle-plates of short broad leaf-swords terminate in straight T-like projections, exactly as this one does;



and as both the mutilated swords found at Pant-y-maen were of this character, it increases the probability that this handle-plate belonged to the second mentioned, for it is evident it could not have been portion of the first mentioned one, represented in the engraving by No. 2. The rivet holes have been cleanly drilled and not cast. The rivet itself may have been cast in its present form, but the beveled faces appear to have been formed by cutting or filing.

As blades of such swords are more frequently found without than with handle plates, it is likely, as Dr. Wilde suggests, that the latter were particularly liable to accident. He goes on to state (p. 456) "that when fractured, the blade was again placed in a mould with the broken end heated and fresh metal ran round it. This addition, as we see in the cleaned specimens, is usually of a redder colour than that of the original, probably from containing more copper, in order to ensure greater toughness." In the present case, the fracture has not occurred in the usual position, but at the opposite extremity, where a new T-shaped end has been welded on, and on one side (the one given in the engraving) more clumsily than the other, as the metal has escaped over the line of junction, what is preserved on the opposite side. There may, however, have been some object in the difference of the two sides, such as that of acquiring additional strength. The end welded on is of a much redder colour than the other portion, as seems, according to Dr. Wilde's experience, to be generally the case. The more rudely welded side of the T-shaped end has also two slight flanges in continuation of those of the handle plate, but they are wanting on the other side.

Fig. 2.—The lower portion of a bronze sword. The engraving presents this as straight; but it is doubly bent, and in such a manner as clearly to prove that it has been done with no less deliberation than violence. The metal is of a brilliant gold coloured bronze, retaining to a remarkable extent the peculiar, lustrous lacquer

so often found on bronze implements, and more especially on swords, as previously mentioned. The two other portions of the blade are bent, but not to the same extent. Whether this bending took place before or after the breaking is doubtful. There are two large rivet-holes, more roughly formed, on the side not given in the engraving, than on the reverse one, where an attempt had been made to perforate them by oblique blows. This process is still more manifest in the two unfinished ones below them, as if the workman had followed out in metal the usual practice of perforating stone implements, at least as regards one side; for on the side represented there are only two deep indentations from a punch struck vertically pressing on the metal, so as to facilitate the oblique operations on the reverse side by lessening the thickness of metal. In one of the holes this may be said to have been nearly executed, as a very minute opening, not larger than the diameter of a small needle, has been effected. When a sufficient quantity of metal had been thus removed, it seems that the work was finished by again punching through, in a vertical direction, on the side not operated on obliquely. The rivet-holes completely pierced, although not so neatly done as in the case of the plate-handle (as well as the unfinished attempts below) clearly indicate the *modus operandi*. The double groove between the holes, which appears to be intended for a simple ornament, is not so strongly developed on the other side. The bevelled cutting edges of all the three fragments are well preserved, so that the sword was not apparently broken up as a worn out one. The mid-rib is but slightly developed in comparison with that of the blade engraved in the Powis plates.

Fig. 3.—A ferule. This is the longest of the four found, and measures four and a quarter inches, and slightly exceeding half an inch in the diameter of its open end. It is pierced with two large rivet-holes, one of which (not represented in the cut) has been broken through in a very rude manner, and presenting a strik-

ing contrast to the neatly drilled holes of those in the Powis collection; to say nothing of the still greater difference in dimension and form of the tubes. Why a waving, and not a straight outline has been adopted, except for appearance, is not very clear, as the inserted shaft could not have been of the same form. It may have been desirable to have had not too small a base, and hence the lower part is made to swell out. The lance of which (until a more satisfactory explanation is given, this must have been the ferule) must have been of very slender diameter, and more adapted to throw than to use as a pike or spear; but of what use the ferule was in such a case, it is not easy to conjecture. The bronze of which this ferule is composed, is of a bright yellow with a coppery tinge.

Fig. 4.—Another ferule. This ferule has been crushed nearly flat, and has lost its upper portion; but from the smaller diameter of its base was apparently shorter than No. 3. It has been flattened and bruised by heavy blows of some blunt instrument on each side, the distinct traces of which are easily made out. It still retains its original shaft of oak, which has been squeezed nearly flat by the force which bent the tube. Of its deliberate destruction there seems to be little doubt.

Another of the tubes has been treated in the same manner, but has lost its lower and not its upper end, so that the remains of the wooden shaft inside, at one end, have still retained its round form, the blows not having struck that part of the ferule, while at the other end they are nearly as much crushed and flattened as in the preceding instance. From its present state it is not apparently of the same form as Nos. 3 and 4; but straight, like the Powis examples, and like the remaining one of the four. This last has escaped violence, being nearly perfect, except that a part of the base has perished from oxydation. Its length slightly exceeds three inches; and the difference of the diameters of base and mouth is more considerable than usual, one being three-quarters, and the other not quite half an inch, a considerable differ-

ence considering the shortness of the ferule. The shaft probably after leaving the ferule tapered in the same manner. The two rivet holes, one larger than the other, as is more frequently the case, have been accurately and neatly drilled. The bronze of the three last mentioned ferules is of a much darker colour than the first; the last mentioned one especially approaching the character of the bronze of the Powis collection in its colour and composition. While the light bronze ferule shows no signs of oxydation, the other three have been materially affected by that agent.

4 A.—The ferule or tip of a scabbard. This article is evidently of the same character, though differing in form from the scabbard tip in the Irish Museum, No. 284 (see Catalogue, fig. 336, p. 461). It is terminated by a large oval button, and has been bent in by force. It has evidently been an appendage to a wooden scabbard, to which it was secured by a rivet through two well drilled holes of considerable size considering the size of the article. The positions of the holes on each side, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the central rib, is such in the present crushed state of the tip, that no single rivet could have traversed them, although in its original state this may have been possible. In the bronze scabbards of the Powis collection we find the same arrangement of rivet-holes; but there the obliquity is small, and not inconvenient. In this case it would have been much more difficult, especially as the direction of the rivet-holes does not assist the operation. Although these holes are well pierced, one of them bears indication of the same treatment as the holes in the portion of the sword given in figure 2. If in a small ferule like this, rivet-holes of such a size were necessary, the very small ones in the largest scabbard could hardly have been intended for the same purpose.

It should be stated that in the side view on the plate a narrow rib has been erroneously introduced, none such existing.

Fig. 5 gives us the mutilated head of a small lance,

and the only copper implement of the collection. It has been indented on each side with marks of a rude punch, but more numerous on the side presented in the engraving. These may be intended as a kind of ornament, but certainly are of no use. A fragment of the socket exists having the same punch marks. This head never had the beveled edge which occurs in the other heads found with it, so that independent of its being composed of copper only, it is probably of an older character than the rest.

No. 6.—A similar head of a lance, somewhat larger than the preceding, and provided with a bevelled edge of unusual breadth. It is perfect, with the exception of bruises on both sides, indicated by the dark shading in the engraving. The rivet holes are well drilled, without any signs of the ruder work mentioned above. The material is a yellowish-coppery bronze. The diameter of the socket exceeds an inch; so that if they be connected with the ferules, the shaft must have tapered considerably.

Another head similar, but of darker bronze, has had the lower end of its socket crushed in with violence, by means of which part of the wooden shaft still remains. The rivet-holes are well formed, but of an extraordinary size, being more than twice as large as those of No. 6. Of the three remaining heads, one is similar to the last three mentioned, while the other two have straight sides, and are probably the tips of long spear-heads, and not lance-heads.

Fig. 6.—A large spear head, eleven inches long, of bright yellowish bronze, with moderate sized and well-drilled rivet holes. The tip of it has been broken off, but was found with the rest. From some cause or other this tip is much fresher than the other part, which has lost the smooth, lustrous character of the former. Besides, the thin bevelled edge of the former is perfect; whereas in the case of the latter some damage has been experienced, but more likely from time and accident than actual use. Unless the two parts had accurately fitted each other,

they would hardly have been thought portions of the same weapons, so great is the difference of their present condition, a difference which may have arisen from some peculiarity of the soil, or accidental circumstance of their deposit.

Fig. 8.—Two bronze rings, of ordinary character. The larger one is plain, round, perfectly smooth, and of a yellow tint. The smaller one has been much affected by air and moisture, and of a different form, which has not been noticed in the engraving, being bevelled sharply towards the outer edge. The third ring is nearly the size of the larger one, which it resembles except in its greater thickness, and in having been more acted on by time. Whether this difference arises from the nature of the bronze or not is doubtful, but the two smaller ones are composed of a bronze in which a larger proportion of copper exists. They were probably used for suspending articles, perhaps the scabbard, of which the tip was once a portion.

Allusion has been already made to the striking dissimilarity of these two important discoveries on Welsh territory. There is little doubt but that the Cardiganshire weapons must be considered of the earlier character and date, whatever that may be; that they were deposited under very different circumstances; that they are probably the production of two distinct races, as the Cardiganshire implements alone are decidedly of Irish character. If their deposit was connected with the traditional battle of Pant-gwyn, the whole district of which seems full of sepulchral memorials, they are perhaps the relics of an Irish chief who had attacked that part of Wales; or, to go back to a still earlier date, of a native Gwyddelian resisting the assault of the invading Cymry. But, in either case, it is clear that they were deliberately reduced to their mutilated condition, and that this was done most probably in honour of the buried than for any other purpose; the metal would have been too precious to have been thus thrown away, and not returned to the smelting pot.

In contrast with these we have the Powis weapons in a very different condition, many being perfect, and none exhibiting marks of the same kind of violence which had broken the Cardiganshire ones. The careful manner, too, in which they had evidently been packed together and concealed, and the presence of the lump of fused metal, seem to indicate that they were carefully secreted, and are probably the property of one who dealt in or manufactured such articles. Among them are some most remarkable specimens, probably unique, such as the larger of the scabbards or scabbard-tips, whichever they are to be called, and the extraordinary, long, thin tubes, the use of which is so obscure,—circumstances which, combined with the large number found, tend to render it one of the most important discoveries that have yet been made in Wales. Fortunate and important, however, as the discovery must be reckoned, still more is it a subject of congratulation that they are the property of a nobleman who appreciates their value and importance, who has already consigned some of them to local museums, and who has so kindly and liberally provided for the engravings, which will give those who may not have an opportunity of a personal examination the best consolation, and a more satisfactory impression of their character than mere words can give.

E. L. BARNWELL.

Ruthin. May.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF BRAMPTON BRYAN CASTLE.

THE siege of Brampton Bryan Castle, and its heroic defence by Lady Brilliana, wife of Sir Robert Harley, have been briefly recorded in Collins' *Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, Vere, Harley*, etc.; and the subject has recently received a further elucidation in the publication of her letters by the Camden Society, and in the introduction and notes of the able editor, Mr. Lewis.

The purpose of the present paper is to bring to the light a few additional documents, hitherto unpublished, in reference to the siege. In order to make these documents intelligible, it will be necessary to give a short narrative of the circumstances by way of introduction.

The manor of Brampton, with other possessions in the marches of Wales, was first derived by the Harley family on the marriage, in 1309, of Robert de Harley with Margaret the daughter of Sir Brian de Brampton; and hence it was afterwards called Brian's Brampton, or, as it now is, Brampton Bryan. Brampton Bryan is situate in the hundred of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford, near the confines of the counties of Radnor and Salop.

On the death of his father, Thos. Harley, Esq., on the 19th March 1621, Sir Robert Harley succeeded to Brampton Bryan and the family estates. He represented the borough of Radnor in the parliaments of the first and twelfth years of King James, and he was one of the members for the county of Hereford in the twenty-first year of the same reign.

Sir Robert married, in July 1623, as his third wife, Brilliana, one of the daughters of Sir Edward Conway, afterwards Viscount Conway. He was again elected as member for Herefordshire, in conjunction with Sir Robt. Pye, in the parliament which met on the 13th April 1640 and was dissolved on the 5th May following. After the dissolution Sir Robert Harley appears to have

returned to Brampton Bryan, and there remained until the opening of the Long Parliament on the 3rd Nov. 1640, when he again represented the county of Hereford, his colleague being Fitzwilliam Coningsby, Esq.

His son, afterwards Sir Edward Harley, who had just left the University of Oxford, accompanied Sir Robert to London, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn. He and Sir Robert appear to have given Lady Brilliana, from time to time, an account of the passing political events; but unfortunately their letters to her are lost, having been, as it is supposed, burnt on the taking of Brampton Bryan Castle. This narrative is therefore derived mainly from Lady Brilliana's letters to her son Edward, and is confined to the events which happened at Brampton Bryan and in the neighbourhood.

Sir Robert's incessant attention to his parliamentary duties, and the active part which he took in all the proceedings of the Parliament on its rupture with the king, prevented his again visiting Brampton Bryan until after Lady Brilliana's death. To her, therefore, was confided the entire management of his estates and country affairs. Her letters shew with how much devotion, constancy, and courage, she fulfilled her duty.

Sir Robert Harley took an active part in the proceedings against the Earl of Strafford and the bishops, in organising the militia, and in providing means for carrying on the civil war. He was one of the committee for the removal of crosses, pictures, and superstitious images, and one of the most rigid adherents of the Puritan party.

On the 4th May 1641, a protestation, or promise to maintain and defend the Protestant religion, the privilege of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject, was taken by the majority of the House of Commons, and directions were sent into the country that it should be taken there also. Before the end of the same month, the protestation was taken at Brampton and in the adjoining parishes of Wigmore and Leintwardine with much willingness. It did not, however, meet with the same favour in other parts of the county of Hereford;

for the justices and gentry of that county, under the influence of Sir William Croft of Croft Castle, refused, on a subsequent requisition to that effect, to take it; and in a declaration sent word that they knew not by what authority the Parliament required the taking of it. The general feeling of the county of Hereford and of Radnorshire and Shropshire was in favour of the king; and it appears that Lady Brilliana was much troubled to see the affections of the country so against her husband.

In March 1642 Sir William Croft took a decided part in the county against the Parliament, and soon after the raising of the king's standard at Nottingham joined the king's forces.

On the 4th June, Lady Brilliana, in a letter to her son Edward, after referring to the failure of the king's attempt to take Hull, writes :

"At Ludlow they set up a May-pole, and a thing like a head upon it; and so they did at Croft, and gathered a great many about it, and shot at it in derision of Roundheads. At Ludlow they abused Mr. Bauge's son very much, and are so insolent that they durst not leave their house to come to the fast. I acknowledge I do not think myself safe where I am. I lose the comfort of your father's company, and am in but little safety, but that my trust is in God.....But if your father think it best for me to be in the country, I am very well pleased with what he shall think best."

About this time Dr. Nathaniel Wright, who assisted Lady Brilliana in the defence of the Castle, obtained a supply of arms and powder from Mr. Edward Harley. On the 17th June she gives her opinion that it will be better for her husband to borrow money for raising a troop of horse, than to part with his plate; for she does not know what straits they might be put to, and the plate might be kept for a time of need.

The signs of the coming troubles now increase. Sir William Croft now furnishes his beacon on Croft Ambry, and has a fresh supply of pitch in the adjoining house. "Hereford is now grown worse than Ludlow." The

sheriff sends out his warrant, under the king's commission of array, for the appearance of the militia at Hereford on the 18th July. Lady Brilliana writes,—“they triumph bravely, and threaten poor Brompton.” She sends the plate, sewed up in canvas, in a trunk to Sir Robert; and on the 15th July acknowledges the receipt of a box with twenty “bandeleres,”¹ adding “that the boxes with the muskets and rests the carrier has left to come in a wagon to Woster.” She learns that, on the muster of the militia, “they all at Hereford cried out against Sir Robert, and not one said anything for him.” And writes to her son: “I cannot think I am safe at Brompton, and by no means I would have you come down.”

On the 19th July she writes to her son :

“I hope your father will give me full directions how I may best have this house guarded, if need be.....My cousin Davis tells me that none can make shot but those whose trade it is, so I have made the plumber write to Woster for fifty weight of shot. I sent to Woster because I would not have it known. If your father thinks that it is not enough, I will write for more.”

In another letter in the same month she says :

“At first, when I saw how outrageously this country carried themselves against your father, my anger was up, and my sorrow, that I had hardly patience to stay; but now I have well considered, if I go away I shall leave all that your father has to the prey of our enemies, which they would be glad of; so that, and please God, I purpose to stay as long as it is possible, if I live; and this is my resolution without your father contradict it.”

Between July and December there is an interruption of the correspondence; and it appears by her letter dated 13th December 1642, that her son Edward had, during this interval, visited Brampton, and probably made arrangements for its defence. She writes :

“My heart has been in no rest since you went. I confess I

¹ “Bandealers,” small wooden cases covered with leather, each of them containing a sufficient charge of powder for a musket.

was never so full of sorrow. I fear the provision of corn and malt will not hold out if this continue, and they say they will burn my barns; and my fear is that they will place soldiers so near me, that there will be no going out.....I wish, if it pleased God, that I were with your father. I would have writ to him, but I durst not write upon paper. Dear Ned, write to me, though you write upon a piece of cloth as this is.....There is 1000 dragooners come into Hereford five hours after my Lord Hertford."

The Marquis of Hertford was at this time lord-lieutenant of ten of the western and southern counties, including Hereford, and of seven counties in Wales; and his office gave him the command of the militia raised in those counties under the king's commission of array.

In her next letter, December 25th, 1642, she says:

"On the Sabbath day after I received the letter from the Marquis, we set that day apart to seek to our God, and then on Monday we prepared for a siege; but our good God called them another way, and the Marquis sent me word he remembered him to me, and that I need not fear him, for he was going away, but bid me fear him that came after him. Mr. Coningsby is the Governor of Hereford, and he sent to me a letter by Mr. Wigmore. I did not let him come into my house, but went into the garden to him."

Mr. Wigmore of Shobdon appears to have taken an active part against the Harleys. Lady Brilliana writes on the 28th January, 1643: "Mr. Wigmore will not let the fowler bring me any fowl, nor will not suffer any of my servants to pass. They have forbid my rents to be paid, and none of my servants dare go scarce so far as the town.....I am threatened every day to be beset with soldiers."

On the 14th February she writes:

"Nine days past my Lord Herbert was at Hereford, where he stayed a week. There was held a council of war, what was the best way to take Brampton. It was concluded to blow it up; and which counsel pleased them all. My Lord Herbert had appointed a day to come to Presteign, that so his presence might persuade them to go out of their county. He had commanded them to bring pay for victuals for ten days. The soldiers came to Presteign; but it pleased God to call my Lord

Herbert another way, for those in the Forest of Dean¹ grew so strong that they were afraid of them.

"Now they say they will starve me out of my house. They have taken away all your father's rents; and they say they will drive away the cattle, and then I shall have nothing to live upon; for all their aim is to enforce me to let those men I have go, that then they might seise upon my house, and cut our throats by a few rogues."

In March Lady Brilliana is summoned to give up her house on pain of being proceeded against as a traitor. She hears six hundred soldiers are appointed to come against her. She makes preparation for the defence by having the water turned into the moat, and writes: "If I had money to buy corn and meal and malt, I should hope to hold out; but then I have three shires against me."

Brampton was again saved from a siege for a short time. At the latter end of April, Hereford was unexpectedly attacked by the Parliament forces under Sir William Waller, and surrendered on the 24th April. Among the prisoners taken were Mr. Coningsby, Sir William Croft, and Sir Walter Pye, who were sent to Gloucester.

Early in May, Petter, one of Lady Brilliana's dependents, is attacked near Mortimer's Cross by five of the Royalist party armed with carabines and pole-axes, and after a struggle, in which he was wounded, taken prisoner to Ludlow.

In June Brampton is still threatened. Some soldiers are billeted at Purslow in the neighbourhood, and soldiers come to Knighton. Lady Brilliana sends a messenger to Lieut.-Colonel Massey, who had succeeded Sir Wm. Waller as Governor of Gloucester, to request that he will send her an able soldier to command the men at

¹ Lord Herbert, son of the Earl of Worcester, with an army raised in Wales drove the Parliamentarians from Coleford, and then proceeded towards Gloucester, settling his forces at Highnam House, within two miles of the city, where he was soon afterwards defeated by the Parliament forces under Sir William Waller. (*Corbett's Military Government of Gloucester*, p. 26.)

her disposal, and she received from him the aid of Capt. Hackluit, who had been in the German wars. At the latter end of June new troops were raised in Herefordshire, and the county was assessed at £1,200 a month, free quarters being granted to the soldiers. Lord Herbert and Sir William Vavasour (who had been appointed Governor of Hereford) went into Montgomeryshire to raise fresh forces. Sir Walter Pye, Mr. Wigmore, Sir William Croft, and others, who had been taken prisoners at Hereford, were again at liberty, and returned into the county; and soldiers appear to have been quartered at Kingsland, within a few miles of Brampton.

On the 25th July, 1643, a part of the king's forces, under the command of Sir William Vavasour, appeared before Brampton, and laid siege to the Castle. Lady Brilliana, aided by Capt. Hackluit and her devoted friend, Dr. Wright, successfully conducted the defence. Towards the latter end of August, Sir William Vavasour, after having done much damage to the town, was summoned to Gloucester to assist in the siege of that city, and retired, leaving Colonel Lingen in command of the troops before Brampton. In a fortnight afterwards Colonel Lingen was compelled to withdraw his troops; and the siege, which had lasted six weeks, was raised.

In the beginning of October, Brampton was again threatened by Sir William Vavasour, who was stationed at Leominster. Lady Brilliana made preparations for defence; and was attacked with a severe cold, of which she died before the end of October.

Early in the following year (1644) Sir Michael Woodhouse, Governor of Ludlow, having succeeded in taking Hopton Castle, laid siege to Brampton.

Corbett, in his narrative of the military government of Gloucester,¹ writes, in reference to this siege,—

“At this present there came dayly cries for the reliefe of Brampton Castle, in the remote parts of Herefordshire, which held out a long time in the midst of the enemies' country, to the expence of much time and blood. And their succour was the more importuned by the rage of the enemy, which had

¹ Bibliotheca Gloucestriensis, p. 91.

lately acted their cruelties upon fourty prisoners of the same command, taken by Colonell Woodhouse in Hopton Castle, which were basely murdered after the surrender. Colonell Massie had no forces under his command to undertake a march through the midst of the enemy when they pressed hard on our own borders ; and the brigade of horse assigned for the convoy, and commanded by Commissary General Bher, were unwilling to undertake the service."

The Castle was on this occasion gallantly defended by Dr. Wright and Sir Robert Harley's servants. After holding out for three weeks, the enemies' cannon having laid in ruin the walls and outworks, the inmates surrendered at mercy ; and sixty-seven men, who formed the garrison, with Sir Robert Harley's three younger children, were taken prisoners. A hundred arms, two barrels of powder, and a year's provisions, also fell into the hands of the assailants.

Most of the houses in the town and the church had been destroyed ; and the Castle, with the valuable library of MSS. and books which it contained, was burnt.

"1.—To the Hon^{ble} House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

"The humble Petic'on of the late Inhabitants of the Towne of Brompton Bryan in the County of Hereford, and of such who werre long beseiged & at last taken Prisoners at Brompton Bryan Castle :

"SHEWETH That your peti^{ers} for their constant adhering to the cause of God & y^e P^{li}ament to the uttmost of their power with their lives & estates, when that county & the other counties round about were wholly in the king's power, & Col. Henry Lingen then bringing an army of ffoote & horse beseiged Sir Robert Harleys castle, and carryed away the bells, the Com'union cup, the bookes & ornaments of the church, drove away our cattle, carryed away all the goods & furniture of our houses, & wee are now brought into a most forelorne & miserable condicon, soe as it would pittie y^e eye & greive the heart of any tender spirited Christian to see or heare it, ffor the s^d towne is wholly consumed by fire, a great p^t whereof was then burnt when the said Collonel Lingen did beseidge the Castle, their publiq^e place of meeteing for Gods service quite demolished, some wives made widowes by haveing their husbands

slaine in the service, & some children left orphans, their parents being slaine by the kings souldiers, or else dyed in prison by their unmercifull dealing; & in this sad condicon are yo^r distressed peti^{ers} dispersed to seeke their harbour where they can obteyne it in other men's houses; & y^t w^{ch} adds greater misery to their outward languishing condicon is this, that their soules are like to perish for want of instrucion, being left in that blind & barren country of y^e Gospell without a minister to preache unto them. This also coming in to make the misery of yo^r peti^{ers} compleate, That as the name of our God was in this place which now lyethe wast in a more than ordinary manner called upon, soe in the day of our distress it was by the enemy blasphemed, who said unto us in reproache & scorne, Now see if that God whom you have called upon can delivere you. And the poore estate of yo^r poore peti^{ers} is still a matter of reproache unto them. A breife narration of their damages susteyned is hereunto annexed, whereby it appeareth that their losses amount at least, upon a just calculac'on, to the sum of 5148*li*. 12*s*. (whereof the burning of S^r Robert Harley's castle & out houses thereunto belonging is noe part). To the utter ruyne of the estates of some & the miserable poore condic'on of the rest.

"May it therefore please this hon^{ble} assembly, the p^rmises considered, to compassionate your pet^{ers} distressed estates & to graunt them some helpe & speedy releife bothe for their soules & bodies as in your godly wisdomes shall seeme most meete, that the church may bee rebuilt, that soe they may enjoy the Gosple & allowance graunted to build their former habitac'ons, & your poore peti^{ers} estates repaired, that their soules & bodies perish not both together in yo^r hands now God hath given your honours power to releeve it in this our miserable & languishing condic'on.

"And yo^r peti^{ers} shall ever pray, &c.

"THE ESTIMATE OF THE WHOLE LOSSES.

The church being now wholly demollished, to rebuild it	“
will cost by estimac'on at least	1100
The whole towne, wherein were 20 dwelling houses,	
many of them were ffaire & large buildings, being	
burnt to the ground with all other out houses and	
barnes and other necessary buildings, to the loss of	
more then 1654, as will bee made to appeare upon	
particulars	1654
The losses of the townesmen & those in the Castle (besides	
the losses of Sir Robt. Harley) in their goods, estate	
and cattle in the towne and in the Castle, is as wil-	
bee certified upon oathe if it be required	2394

"THE NAMES OF Y^R PETITIONERS.

Captaine John Hackluit	Mr. Stanley Gower, Rector
Thomas Ffroysell, Minister	Lady Dorothy Coleburne
Wm. Stephenson, Minister	Mr. Ffrancis Boughey, Minister
Sammuell Shielton	Edward Pinner
John Taylor	William Baggeley
Robert Mathewes	Edward Nesse
Thomas Hagley	Meredith Evans
Ralph Joaus	Henry Hurlston
Roger Prosser	William Monington
Thomas Guilt	Griffith Joans
Edward Bevan	John Lloyd
Edward Bill	Andrew Hagley
Mrs. Hellen Pierson	Mrs. Doughtey
Mary Lankford	Elizabeth Deakins
Mr. Bussie	Elizabeth Louke
Margaret Millichap	Lucrecia Shepheard
Joan Morgan	Mary Nesse.

"2.—The losses which the late inhabitants of Brompton Bryan, in the county of Hereford, suffered by the King's forces in their goodes and estates besides the burning of their dwelling-houses and all other buildings.

	£	s.	d.
" Mr. Stanley Gower, rector . . .	368	00	00
Edward Pinner . . .	240	10	00
William Baggeley . . .	359	00	00
Edward Nesse . . .	032	00	00
Thomas Bagley . . .	037	00	00
Meredith Evans . . .	066	02	00
Ralph Joans . . .	043	15	00
Roger Prosser . . .	038	06	00
Thomas Guilt . . .	011	00	00
Edward Bevan . . .	015	00	00
John Lloyd . . .	022	08	00
Edward Bill . . .	016	05	00
Andrew Bayley . . .	048	00	00
Mrs. Hellen Pierson . . .	066	00	06
John Taylor . . .	147	00	00
Mrs. Elizabeth Bussie . . .	041	13	04
Mary Lankford . . .	073	00	00
Elizabeth Deakins . . .	114	00	00
Margaret Millichap . . .	013	04	00
Mary Nesse . . .	015	14	04

1767 18 02

"The losses of such who brought provision and goods into the castle of Brompton Brian, and of such as were in the castle to assist the Parliament against the King's forces.

" Captaine John Hackluit	.	.	015	00	00
Mr. Francis Broughey, minister	.	.	100	00	00
Mr. William Stephenson, minister	.	.	068	01	00
Mr. Thomas Ffroysell, minister	.	.	134	00	00
Mr. William Low, minister	.	.	024	14	00
Mr. Sammuell Skilton	.	.	022	00	00
Mr. Robert Mathewes	.	.	058	06	00
Henry Hurlston	.	.	011	00	00
William Monington	.	.	006	00	00
Griffith Joans	.	.	007	00	00
Mr. William Beale & Ladie Dorothie					
Coleburne	.	.	132	13	00
Mrs. Doughtey	.	.	008	10	00
Elizabeth Louke	.	.	025	07	06
Lucrecia Sheapard	.	.	005	00	00
Joan Morgan	.	.	009	02	00

Sum is	626	13	06
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Sum totall	2394	11	08
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"3.—To all people unto whom this present wryting shall com, or may concerne, know yee that whereas I, Stanley Gower, of Dorchest^r, in y^e county of Dorset, clerk, stand seized for my life of y^e Rectory of Brompton Brian, in the county of Hereford, upon y^e presentation of my most Ho^d Patrone S^r. Ro. Harley, Knight of the noble order of the Bath, and being resident there for divers yeares until I was, by order of Parli^t, called thence unto y^e Rev. Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster, as by their ordinance, bearing date the twelfth day of June, one thousand six hundred forty and three appeareth, during w^h tyme of my attendance upon y^t assembly, the church of Brompton aforesayd was demolished, the towne burnt, and the inhabitants dispersed by y^e violence and cruelty of some forces under y^e late King's comand, against the Parliam^t and theyr proceedings. And understanding y^t y^e noble intentions of my sayd patrone, or his eldest sonne Col. Edw^d Harley are speedily to reedify y^e sayd parish church, replant y^e town, and to take care for supply of y^e same w^h an able and godly minister. These are, therefore, to signify y^t I, the sayd Stanley Gower, out of my love and good affections to y^t desolate place and people, doe by these presents desire, authorize, and intrust the sayd Coll. Edw^d Harley

p'vide and place an able, godly, and well app'ved minister (so soon as the sayd church shal be capable thereof) to officiate and discharge the work of y^e ministry, and to take and receive for his own pp use and benefit all y^e p'fitts and emolum^{ts} belonging to y^e sayd rectory, and growing, arising, due, or payable out of y^e same unto me, the sayd Stanley Gower, at any tyme since y^e demolishing of y^e sayd church and town, and for so long tyme as such minister shall continue to be resident there by virtue of y^e sayd Coll. Harley's order and appointm^t. And all y^e interest y^t I have, or may claym to the p'fitts and tithes of y^e sayd rectory, I do hereby assign and set over unto y^e sayd minister, so to be placed as aforesayd, giving and granting unto him full power and authority to sue for and receive the same for his own use and benefit, as amply as I my self might or could do by virtue of my presentation. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seale the fourth day of March, in y^e year of o^r Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and three.

“Witnesses hereunto, { Jn^o WHITEWAY.
WILLIAM WHITE.
“STANLEY GOWER, L.S.” }

RICHARD W. BANKS.

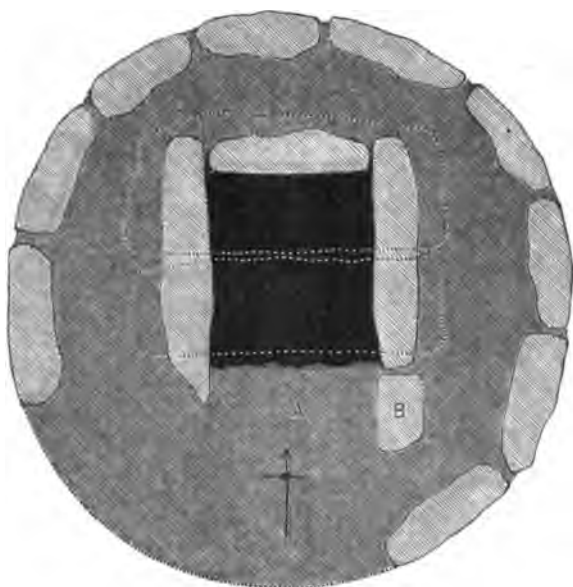
AN ACCOUNT OF A BARROW WITH KIST-VAEN, IN THE PARISH OF SANCREED, CORNWALL.

THE Cornish cromlech may be described as consisting simply of a quadrangular kist-vaen, with a large flat covering stone. The structure is sometimes found slightly elevated above the natural level of the ground, and, in a few instances, there are traces of encircling rings of stones, which have been considered to be the bases of barrows in which the cromlechs may have been buried. No other remains of the barrows are, however, now to be seen, and it would be difficult to account for the removal of such large heaps of earth and stone, though there can be little doubt that in some cases they did actually exist. It would, therefore, appear that cromlechs, such as those at Chûn and Mulfra,

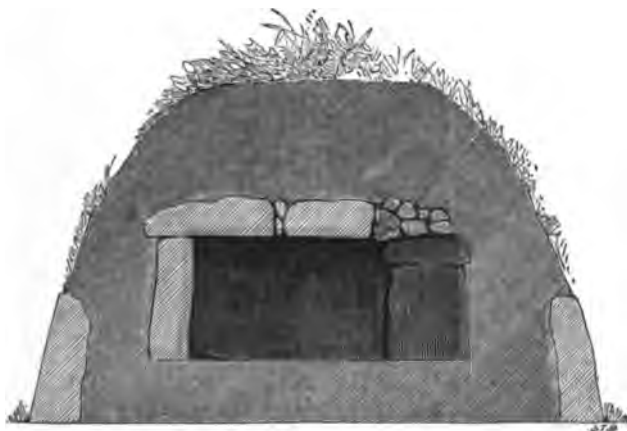
were merely kist-vaens contained in barrows—the latter having almost entirely disappeared—though the remains of a circle may be traced around the Chûn cromlech. In some places in Cornwall, may be seen the ruins of barrows from which the kist-vaens have been removed, whilst the large stones which formed the circle of the base are left. There are still some remains of a barrow of this kind at Boskednan, in Gulval parish, the encircling stones converging towards the centre of the mound. The great cromlech at Zennor seems, however, to have had a more complicated arrangement.

The object of this paper is to describe a barrow with kist-vaen in the parish of Sancreed, about five miles from Penzance. Hitherto it has been unnoticed in any publication, and I have to thank Mr. Thomas Cornish, of Penzance, for calling my attention to this remarkable monument, which in fact, may be considered as no other than a cromlech in its barrow; for were the small stones and earth used as filling removed, the kist-vaen would stand forth a cromlech, surrounded by a circle of stones, nearly as perfect as that of Chûn. Instead of one, however, it has two covering stones.

The diameter of the barrow is about fifteen feet. It is of a conical form, though some of the upper part has been removed, or has fallen away. At present, it measures in height about nine feet. The base, as will be seen by the accompanying ground-plan, consists of a number of large blocks of granite, averaging three feet in height, and converging towards the centre. On the south side, the mound has been cut down from the summit to the floor of the kist-vaen, which is two feet above the level of the adjoining ground. The chamber thus exposed to view runs exactly north and south by the compass. It is six feet one inch in length by four feet three inches in breadth at the bottom; owing, however, to the side supporters inclining inwards, perhaps from the pressure of the materials outside, it measures only three feet two inches at the top. From the present floor to the covering stones, the

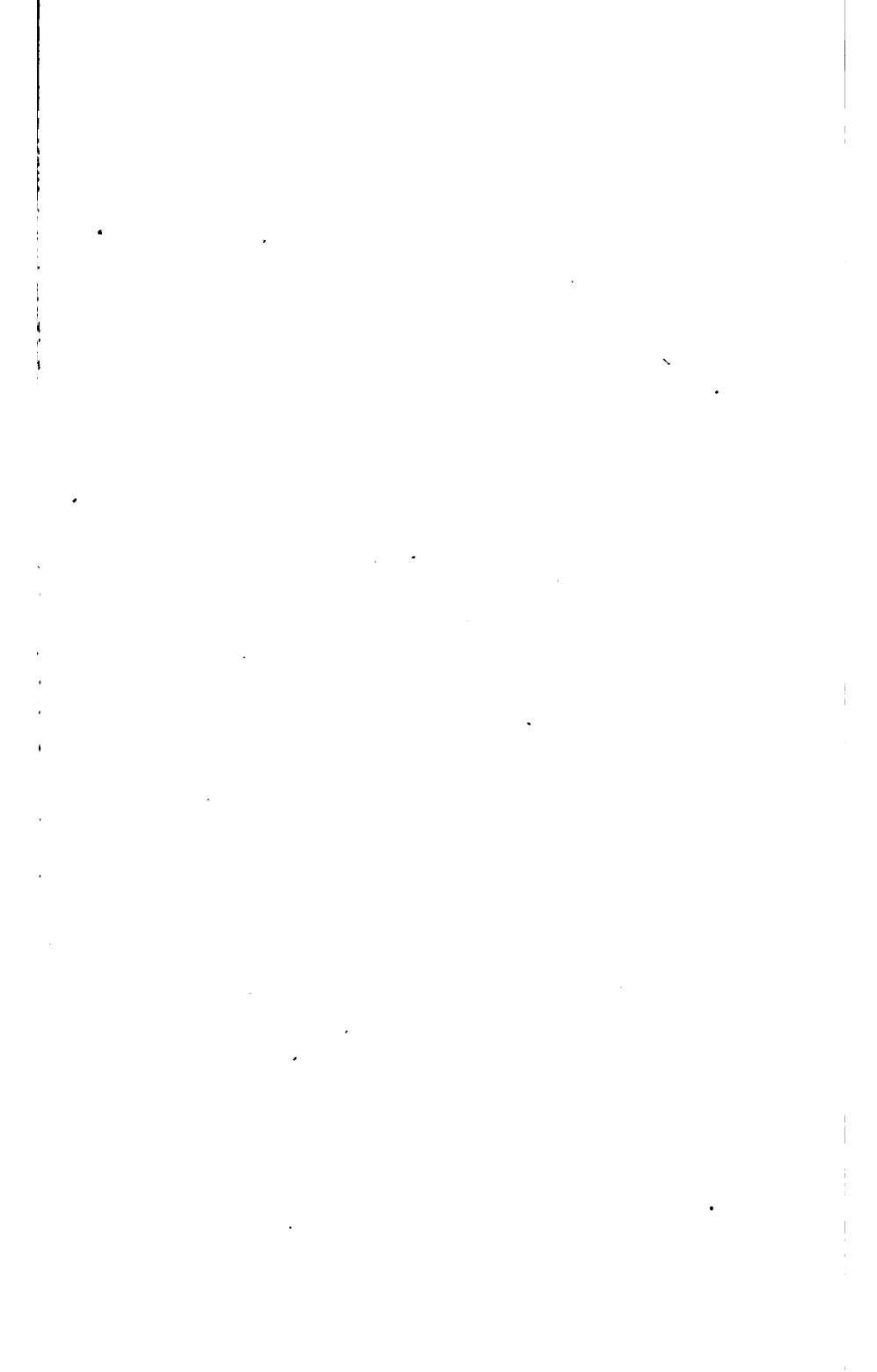


Ground Plan.



Section on North and South Line, shewing East Side of Kist-vaen.

BARROW AT SANCREED, CORNWALL.



height is three feet three inches, One large slab of granite forms the west side, whilst for the east side two were required; the southernmost of which, B in plan, extends a little beyond the kist-vaen, and I thought at first whether this might not have been one of a series of stones forming a passage, not unusual in barrows,¹ leading from without to the chamber. There is no direct evidence that such was not the case, but probably another stone stood at the present entrance, A, and thus a quadrangular kist-vaen was formed. The dotted lines mark the covering stones, the outer one of which is 15 ins. thick. Being of a rough character, and their edges not meeting exactly, the interstice has been filled with small stones. A similar treatment may also be observed at the junction of the supporters on the N.W. and N.E. angles. All the stones used are granite, a material natural to the locality. Thorns, furze, and brambles have taken root on the mound; thus, perhaps, in some measure, binding the stones together.

It is not known when the barrow was opened. A labourer in an adjoining field informed me that he remembered it in its present condition forty years ago. It stands in comparatively low ground, in the corner of a field, and nearly in a direct line south from the Chapel Uny Cave, from which it is scarcely a quarter of a mile distant. This cave, though different in some particulars, is of the same class as that at Bolleit, which members of the Association may remember having visited when the annual meeting was held in Cornwall in 1862.

At no great distance is the hill castle named *Caer Bran*. The fortified hill of *Bartiné* rises just opposite, and on the down between the cave and *Brahan Cross* are the remains of an ancient circular enclosure with internal divisions. Indeed, the whole tract affords numerous evidences of its military occupation in primitive times.

Penzance, March 1864.

J. T. BLIGHT.

¹ See plan of barrow in Scilly. (Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, plate xvii.)

PENNANT MELANGELL CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

It is hardly necessary to remind the Members of our Association of the great interest attaching to the ancient church of Pennant Melangell. It has been described and illustrated by the late Rev. John Parker and Mr. R. Kyrke Penson in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*; and yet, ably as this was done, there remain several architectural details connected with the building that deserve further illustration. In particular, the fragments of the shrine of St. Monacella, now imbedded in the walls and in the porch of the lich-gate, the ancient tower, and some of the windows, are all worthy of careful architectural study; and it is to be hoped that a revised and more extended account will be given to members. This interesting edifice, situated in one of the most lovely nooks of the Berwyn Mountains, has of late fallen into bad repair; and, in particular, the tower—one of the old towers of Montgomeryshire—threatens ruin. A small sum, about £200, judiciously expended, would suffice for the more urgent requirements of the case; and the church might be thereby put in a condition to last for a long period. Members would be conferring a real benefit on the cause of Cambrian archæology if they would contribute to a fund for this purpose; but those who live in Montgomeryshire seem more especially called on to take the matter in hand. One of the best things they could do, would be to form a committee of all the members belonging to that county, in order to cooperate with the Rector, and to superintend the repairs.

An intention has been attributed (it is to be hoped erroneously) to the superior ecclesiastical authorities of the diocese, of giving up the performance of divine service in this church, because a larger population than that of the little hamlet has sprung up below Llangynog, at Penybontfawr, two miles off, where a new church has been erected. One of the bells of Pennant has been already removed to this new church, much against the wishes of the people, who reverence the old edifice. It is highly to be desired that this design, if it ever were seriously entertained, may be abandoned immediately, and the bell restored. No example could be more fatal than the one thus set; for the same process of spoliation and abandonment may be applied to other buildings more august than common parish churches; and there are but too many hands ready to carry such things into effect.

It should be added that the Rector, in the most laudable manner, has already begun some repairs of the tower at his own cost; but he ought not to be left alone in such an undertaking; and it would be an honour to all Welsh archæologists, and especially to the county ones, to come forward and take the honourable burthen off his shoulders.

GLAMORGANSHIRE DOCUMENTS.

THE disappearance and probable destruction of the mass of the records of the Glamorgan Chancery at Cardiff, gives considerable value to those few that have been preserved. The following Fine, transcribed from the original still at Fonmon Castle, relates to the Manor of "Coyde Kenllan", which has not been identified. The prefix Coyde or Coed was common about Bridgend, where lay the principal property of the querent, and where, therefore, the manor should probably be sought for. It can scarcely have been "Court Colman", which does not appear to have been a Gamage manor until a century later, when John Gamage of Coyty purchased it from Dr. Lleison.

Of the county "Barons", Sir Richard Croft was of Croft Castle, county of Hereford. He was a stout soldier, received the honour of a Knight Banneret from Henry VII at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and was Treasurer of the Royal Household. He is not known to have had property in or connexion with the county, and has not hitherto appeared among its sheriffs. Probably he was appointed by Jasper Tudor, as a sure and influential adherent. His family preserved the connexion thus begun. His daughter Joyce was the second wife of Sir Thomas Gamage, son of the querent, and his great grandson Herbert Croft, was one of the suitors for the hand of Barbara Gamage.

Richard Turberville was of Tythegston. He was a strong Lancastrian, and a patron of the Welsh Lancastrian bard, Lewis of Glyn-Cothi. His will is dated 1501.

Who David Mathew was is less clear. Sir David Mathew, of Llandaff, standard bearer to Edward IV, was not only a Yorkist, but must have been knighted before 1488. His grandson, Sir William, of Radyr, was indeed a Lancastrian, and was knighted by Rich-

mond at Bosworth in 1485, and he had a natural son, David Mathew. No other David occurs about that time in the family.

John Butler was no doubt of Dunraven, and probably the John who married Maud Turberville, but he may have been his father, also John, who married Isabel Fleming.

John Carne was evidently the first of Nash, which place he acquired by marriage with Tybote, daughter and heir of Alex. Giles, of Nash, a cadet of Gileston or Joelston.

Then as to the parties to the fine. Morgan Gamage the querent was of Coyty Castle. He married Eleanor, daughter of Roger Vaughan of Tretower. Philip ap Adam, and Thomas ap Ross (or Rosser) Vychan and Joan his wife, have not been identified.

Thomas Button, who registers the fine, was of course an officer of the Chancery, and probably of Worlton; but so dateless is the pedigree of that respectable family, that it is impossible to say whether the person in question be Thomas, who married Gwenllian, daughter of Sir Howell Gam, of Penrhôs, or his great grandson, who married Joan, daughter of John ap Evan Thomas, of Llanvihangel by Cowbridge, of the Herbert family.

March 30th, 1864.

A FINE LEVIED AT CARDIFF, IN THE CHIEF LORD'S COURT,
IN 4 H. VII. [1488.]

"Hæc est finalis concordia facta in comitatu excellentis Principis Jasperi fratris et patru regum, Ducis Bedfordiæ, Comititis Pembrocæ, ac Domini de Glamorgan et Morgannock, apud Kaerdiff tenta, die lunæ, sexto die Octobris, anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi post conquestum quarto; coram Ricardo Croft, militi, tunc vicecomite comitatus prædicti, Ricardo Turberville, Davido Mathew, Johanne Butteler, Johannes ap Jankyn ap Riderch, Johanne Carne, baronibus ejusdem comitatus, et aliis dicti domini Ducis fidelibus, tunc ibi presentibus: Inter Morganum Gamage et Philippum ap Adami, querentes, et Thomam ap Ross Vighan et Johannem uxorem ejus, deforcientes, de manerio de Coyde Kenllan cum pertinenciis. Unde placitum

convencionis summonitum fuit inter eos in eodem comitatu, scilicet quod prædicti Thomas et Johanna recognoverunt prædictum manerium cum pertinenciis esse jus ipsorum Morgani et Philippi et illud quod iidem Morganus et Philippus habent de dono prædictorum Thomæ et Johannæ et illud remiserunt et quiet-clamaverunt de prædictis Thoma et Johanna et heredibus ipsius Johannæ dicto Morgano et Philippo hæredibus et assignatis suis. Et prædicti iidem Thomas et Johanna concesserunt pro se et hæredibus ipsius Johannæ quod ipsi warantizabunt prædictis Morgano et Philippo hæredibus et assignatis suis prædictum manerium cum pertinenciis contra omnes homines in perpetuum. Et pro hac recognitione, remissione, quiet-clamatione, warantizatione, fine et concordia, iidem Morganus et Philippus dederunt præfatis Thomæ et Johannæ centum marcas.

“THOMAS BUTTON R.”

CHARTER BY JOHN TURBERVILLE OF TYTHEGSTON.

17 H. VIII. [1525.]

THE following is a correct transcript of a charter which seems worthy of being made public, since it is not of inconvenient length, relates to a name of great note in Glamorgan, shews the descent of certain well-known manors, and includes the names of members of several county families. The original is at Fonmon Castle. The transcription is made in full:—

“Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum indentatum pervenerit, Johannes Turberville armiger salutem in Domino sempiternam. Sciatis me prefatum Johannem Turberville dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti scripto meo confirmasse Jacobo Mathew, Johanni Turberville de Llangblethan, Johanni Vaighan clerico, Edwardo Devan, Roberto Ragland, Jacobo Flemynge, Johanni ap Rice ap John, Johanni ap David, Johanni ap Hopkyn ap William Thome, Griffith Gough, Johanni Turberville de Bolston, Howell Gough, Henrico Lewis, Ludovico Thomas ap Howell, et Johanni Wolff, maneria mea de Thegeston, Penthelyne, ac quartam partem manerii de Westorchard in le Cherff, necnon omnes terras et tenementa mea in New Castell Hundred, Newton Nottage, Court Gwelevyn in Coytylond, Langan et Gaston, cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinenciis ac omnia alia terras et tenementa mea redditus [reversiones] et servicia cum omnibus pertinenciis in Thegeston, Penthelyne, ac in quartam partem manerii de Westorchard in le Cherff,

necnon omnes terras et tenementa mea in New Castell Hundred, Newton Notage, Court Gwelevyn in Coytyland, Langan, et Gaston : Habendum et tenendum omnia et singula prefata maneria terræ ac tenementa et alia premissa cum suis pertinentiis prefato Jacobo Mathew, Johanni Turberville de Langblethan, Johanni Vaighan clerico, Edwardo Devan, Roberto Ragland, Jacobo Flemynge, Johanni ap Rice ap John, Johanni ap David, Johanni ap Hopkyn ap William Thome, Griffith Gough, Johanni Turberville de Bolston, Howell Gough, Henrico Lewis, Ludovico Thomas ap Howell, et heredibus et assignatis suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius pro servicio inde debito et de me tenendum ad usum mei prefati Johannis Turberville et heredum masculorum de corpore meo legitime procreatorum secundum verum intentionem ultimæ voluntatis Ricardi Turberville patris mei, et ego vero predictus Johannes Turberville omnia predicta maneria, terras et tenementa premissa cum pertinentiis prefato Jacobo Mathew, John Turberville de Langblethan, Johanni Vaighan, Edwardo, Roberto, Jacobo Fleming, Johanni ap Rice ap John, Johanni ap David, Johanni ap Hopkyn ap William Thome, Johanni Turberville de Bolston, Howell Gough, Henrico Lewis, Ludovico, et Johanni Wolff, heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et imperpetuum defendemus per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto meo indentato sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Thegeston predictum vicesimo nono die mensis Maii anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi decimo septimo" (1525).

(Seal lost from the label.)

NOTES.

John Turberville, called "Gloff" (or the lame) was about the eighth lord of Tythegston of his name. He married Alice, daughter of John ap Robert Raglan, whose dower was assigned to her by a jury, 18 February, 1527. Their final heir was their daughter Wenllian, who carried Tythegston to her husband, Watkyn Lougher of Sker, whence the present proprietor derives through heirs female.

John Turberville of Llanblethian was eldest son of Jenkin of the same place, who was a natural son of Richard, father of the grantor of the charter.

Alice, a sister of John of Llanblethian, married Thomas ap Griffith Goch.

James Fleming was probably of Monkton. James is a name in the Roos and Aberaman branches of Mathew, and not common in any other.

G. T. C.

WOODEN BELFRIES IN WALES.

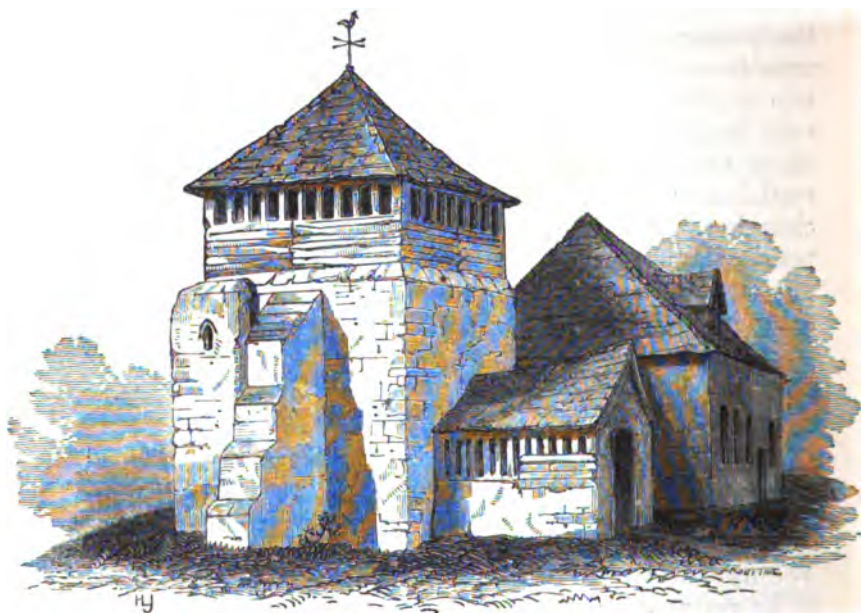
In several of the Welsh counties touching on the English border, are still to be found churches with wooden belfries capping their towers, or, in some instances, substituted for them. In one county indeed, Montgomeryshire, at Trelystan, exists the only wooden church of Wales, lately repaired, and in fact re-cased, though scrupulously preserved.

This use of wood, when in other parts of the country stone would have been employed, arose no doubt from the existence of large forests in ancient days, and the prevalence of fine trees down to a recent period. Timber was so abundant that dwelling-houses of all kinds, and even parts of churches were mainly constructed of this cheap and ready material. Hence, too, the screen and rood lofts which seem to have existed in all the border churches. At the present day, screens are fast disappearing; and the timber-work of belfries is so little appreciated by the public, notwithstanding the generally assumed taste for ancient architecture, that these faint traces of mediæval joiner-work are likely to become obliterated along with most other relics of ancient construction. A few are here noticed in order that some idea may be retained of their nature, and that attention may be called, perhaps unavailingly, to the subject.

The earliest wooden belfry remaining in Montgomeryshire at the beginning of 1864, was that of Llandinam. We use the word "was", because the church is ordered to be restored; and therefore the original belfry may have to undergo great, if not fatal, changes.

At the west end of the church stands the tower, a massive construction of the thirteenth century, of two stories, supporting a wooden belfry covered by a low roof. On the upper surface of the wall, timbering is laid horizontally in the form of trees rudely squared; and on these stand uprights of large dimensions. No

chamfering, no ornamentation of any kind seems to have been attempted with them: they are plated externally with horizontal boards, but above, under the eaves, they have an open gallery. The timber is, on the whole, in good condition, and might be repaired so as to last for centuries. It is stated that an intention exists of raising the walls of the tower a few feet, there being traces observed by the architect of its having formerly been lowered. If this is the case, then probably the timber work is of more recent date than the stone walls; otherwise, there is no *prima facie* reason against its being of the same date, viz., of the thirteenth century.



Llandinam Tower and Belfry.

The most remarkable belfry, however, which remained in the same county at the same period was that of Llandyssul, described and figured in the last number of the *Journal*, and now, unfortunately, doomed to destruction. This belfry deserves special mention because of its rising from the floor of the church within the western gable,

superseding a tower altogether, and also on account of its unique projecting gallery. It constituted the best and most complete example of the ancient timber-work of Montgomeryshire church builders.

A nearly parallel instance is at Llanfihangel Aberbythick, Carmarthenshire, where the late Earl of Cawdor, that great respector of churches, caused the belfry to be carefully reconstructed when the church was rebuilt.

At Norton, near Presteign, in Radnorshire, stands another wooden belfry rising from within the walls, piercing through the roof in two stories and altogether doing away with the necessity of a tower. Its general effect is good, though not to be compared with that of Llandyssul; and it is to be hoped that it may long be carefully preserved.



Norton Belfry.

In the same county is to be seen among others a

wooden belfry covering the tower of Knighton church. It resembles in this respect that of Llandinam, though, with the tower itself it is probably less ancient. This belfry scarcely admits of a gallery, and was only intended as a chamber for the bells: one of which, till lately, used to be hung in an opening among the outer boards.



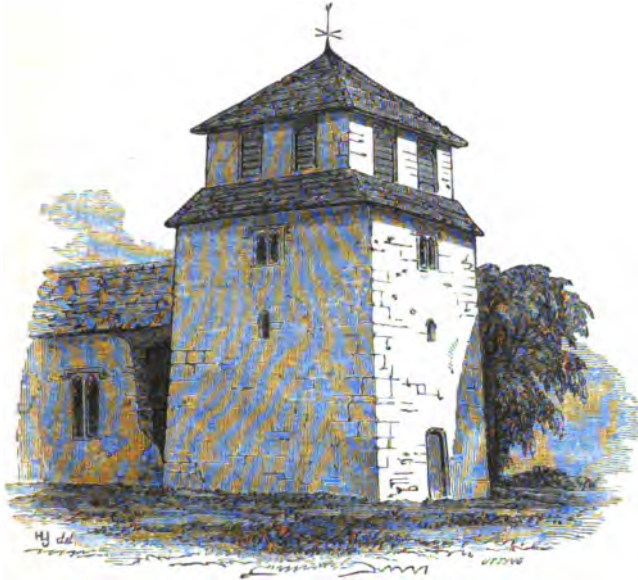
Knighton Tower and Belfry.

At Newtown, Montgomeryshire, the tower,¹ which is the only part of the church not in ruins, is capped by a wooden belfry. The outer boarding has been replaced by plaister, and it has thus lost much of its architectural effect. Still, it is a type of the ancient timber-work of the district, and ought to be repaired.

It would be possible, no doubt, to remove all these belfries, and replace them by towers, spires, etc., in

¹ At the foot of this tower will be observed a willow tree, which is remarkable as having been grown from a cutting of that planted over Napoleon's grave at St. Helena.

stone; but they deserve respect, for they are part of the historical architecture of the Border District, venerable in aspect, peculiarly well suited to the surrounding



Newtown Tower and Belfry.

scenery, cheap of construction, simple, durable, and excellent instances of the skill of our ancient country carpenters.

H. L. J.

ON THE DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS.

NO. II.

THE actual demolition of ancient churches may be supposed to have gone out of fashion, and to have become superseded by a more insidious method of destruction in the form of injudicious restoration. Nevertheless, instances of positive unbuilding are not wanting even in the present day; but if the taking down of consecrated stones and timber is not openly practised, the allowing churches to fall into ruin, and then leaving them to their fate, is often met with. Not merely the ignorant, and those regardless of any pursuits beyond the demands of the present hour, but the learned and sometimes the high ecclesiastical authorities, are found practising this suicidal method of destruction. As ready instances, the ruined churches of Aberdaron in Carnarvonshire, and Llandanwg in Merioneth, may be taken as evidences of what can be tolerated in the diocese of Bangor—a diocese which once was dishonoured by another instance, that of Llandudno, until lay lands repaired the old church, in token of gratitude to God, when episcopal negligence had forborne for many long years from putting a finger to the good work. In Anglesey, churches have been allowed to be abandoned from motives of expediency—that is to say, of parsimony; in Montgomeryshire a church is either obliterated or threatened with abandonment; and so on in other quarters—all instances of want of veneration for the past, and contempt of what has been consecrated to God's service. The danger, however, of demolition or abandonment is as nothing compared with that of restoration: the former meets with universal reprobation, though little heeded by the great; the latter is even upheld with praise, as a manifestation of zeal and progress.

This spirit of change, this neglect of the past, this indifference to ancient honour, all products of the natural tendency of the mind of man—*ruere in pejus*—are perhaps too strong to be overcome, except by the great national revolutions which they promote, and to which they inevitably tend. In France, though the fearful tempest of the Revolution and its godless madness swept away so many of the most glorious monuments of the land, now, when the national mind has become less insane, national monuments and ancient buildings of all kinds are universally respected: the most tender care is shewn to all the relics of former days, and, as far as may be, reparation is making for the evil deeds of former generations. Would that the warning and the example might be understood and acted upon in England! would that the guardians of churches knew this duty,—and knowing, practised it!

But if churches have been neglected, if abbeys have been destroyed,—how much more have castles and domestic buildings! No restoration for these. Nothing but dismantling of fortresses; nothing but improvement of dwellings, has been the fate of unconsecrated stones. Herein no attempt at disguising the policy of destroying castles has been made: they have been called useless, though their materials have been found profitable; they have been adjudged to cumber the ground, and men commonly have not scrupled to pull them to pieces. Of late, indeed, some honourable exceptions to the contrary have been met with: Carnarvon repaired by the Crown; Ludlow maintained by the Earls of Powis; Carreg Cennen by those of Cawdor; Raglan and Chepstow by the Beauforts; and some few others testify to enlightened taste and patriotic feeling; while Conway, Harlech, Denbigh, Pembroke, Manorbier, etc., show what is allowed to take place from silent, though by no means necessary, decay; and a third class, such as Haverford, Flint, Swansea, Carmarthen, etc., justly accuse the authorities, which ought to be their protectors, of designedly misapplying and

mutilating them. Very seldom, indeed, is it possible that a castle should be "restored", as the word is now understood; perhaps it is not desirable; but at least it might be repaired: at least it might be rescued from the hand of time; at any rate, some effort might be made to preserve it for the admiration of those who are to live in the future!

The progress of science, the stern requirements of modern warfare, necessitate the formation of new modes of defence worthy in themselves of admiration and respect; but the strongholds of ancient days are all monuments and evidences of the science of the times when they were built, and should be carefully treasured, not only as venerable, but also as honourable tokens of our forefathers' prudence and valour.

Castles in Wales are, many of them, Crown property, and are granted on lease to constables, and other officers. In some cases the "parties in possession" decline to keep their charges in repair, and refuse to allow the crown to do so. Harlech and Conway are notable instances of this nature; but the Crown ought to interfere; and, by using the legal powers it possesses, should compel the exercise of due conservation. If any monuments can be called national, Crown castles are undoubtedly such, and they are fully worthy of the legislative protection. Nor need this protection be expensive; for after a slight preliminary outlay, as in the case of Carnarvon, the setting up a tariff of admission, and the substitution of trustworthy keepers for inefficient and necessitous guides, porters, etc., is found to suffice for all ordinary repairs, and even for restorations. The condition of castellated remains is well worthy of the care of all archæologists.

That private dwellings, no matter of what age, should be modified or destroyed at the pleasure of the owner, cannot be hindered though it may often be condemned. Still, though nothing effectual can be done, perhaps, to stop the mischief which is constantly going on in respect of ancient mansions, etc., remonstrance may al-

ways be made without offence, against the destruction even of a man's own property. Two things are certain: one that domestic construction has declined with every century since the sixteenth; the other, that nothing more clearly marks the moral condition of a people more surely than the nature of their habitations. It is only of late that the domestic architecture of the middle ages has come to be studied—far more effectually in foreign countries than in our own: and the good sense, sober judgment, and excellent taste of mediæval architects have been fully vindicated. At the present time, after descending from one degree of bathos to another, down to the "*lower still*" of the days of the third George, a kind of false revival is going on, and a puny attempt making to imitate all the defects, few of the good qualities, of mediæval house-building. The domestic architecture of the nineteenth century, as far as it has hitherto gone, is not destined for long renown: it is to be hoped that it may be superseded by something more real, more sensible, more consonant to the wants of social life. But that any owner of a mediæval, of an Elizabethan, or even a Carolinian mansion, should know no better than to substitute for it a thing out of his builder's or architect's pattern-book, is a common but still a sad occurrence. Even old farm-houses are worthy of being preserved, much more the mansion and the hostel.

H. L. J.

Correspondence.

URICONIUM, Etc.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the last number of the *Arch. Camb.*, we were told by Mr. Wright that the question I put to him in the October number, “was expressed in a tone which appeared so little courteous, that he did not think of making any reply to it.” I had been under the impression, that when a misrepresentation was made, the party aggrieved by it was entitled to demand an explanation or an apology; and if the demand were conveyed in terms which—whatever might be “the tone”—were not absolutely rude, it was all the offending party could reasonably expect. I am now at length informed that Mr. Wright had only seen my remarks on the destruction of Uriconium, in “the Report of an Archæological Meeting,” and forebore to quote me “for what might only have been hastily expressed and afterwards abandoned or might not have been correctly repeated.” This excuse may apply to the original criticism said to have been “written before the appearance of Dr. Guest’s paper”, but how does it cover the misrepresentation published in the July number after that paper had actually appeared? How can Mr. Wright justify his referring to me in the same article under different designations, first as “Dr. Guest”, and afterwards as “a certain antiquary”, and by so doing ingeniously suggesting suspicions to my prejudice, which were no less unfounded than injurious?

In Mr. Stephens’s paper (*Arch. Camb.*, No. 38), that gentleman required something more than Mr. Wright’s assertion in proof of Withington being “the *tun* of the Withingas.” The demand was a very reasonable one, and it meets with the following reply on the part of Mr. Wright:—

“If you should tell a person who had not been instructed in astronomy, that an eclipse of the moon was caused by the position of the earth between its satellite and the sun, and he should reply that he had only your ‘assertion’ for it, which he would not accept, you might perhaps think the reply rather rude, but would recommend him to learn astronomy. I am sorry to say that, in the present case, it is the best answer I can give to Mr. Stephens. Let him go and learn the subject; and for this purpose I can recommend him, very conscientiously, the chapter on the mark in Kemble’s *Saxons in England*. Any one acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon language, and the antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, knows that all these names ending in *ingham*, *ingham*, etc., are formed of patronymics of families or clans,” etc.

As I am one of those whose ignorance on this subject Mr. Wright has to enlighten, he will not, I hope, be angry with me, if I venture to discuss at some length the proposition which he thus lays down for our acceptance.

We must begin by disabusing the reader’s mind of the notion to



North View.



South View.

BARROW AT SANCREED, CORNWALL.

which Mr. Wright's mode of dealing with the question seems naturally to lead, viz., that all our modern names of places ending in *ington*, *ingham*, etc., have their Saxon prototypes always fashioned after the same model, so that, given some modern name, we can readily supply the form which it will exhibit in an Anglo-Saxon document. So far is this from being the case, that it would be easy to produce some half dozen modern names all formed apparently on the same model, which are nevertheless the representatives of Anglo-Saxon names, no two of which agree in their formation—the distinctive features of our earlier dialect having been melted down and confounded in that process of degradation, through which our language has passed during the last seven or eight centuries. By way of illustration, let us examine the forms which Mr. Wright's favourite *Withington* might take in an Anglo-Saxon charter, and to facilitate matters let us assume with Mr. Wright that the modern *th* represents the double *t* of the Anglo-Saxon.

First, then, *Withington* might appear in an Anglo-Saxon charter under the form *Wittinga tun*, the town of the Wittings, or, if Mr. Wright will have Anglo-Saxon terms, the "tun of the Wittingsas." Here the Wittings represent the clan or family which Mr. Wright considers to be necessarily indicated in all these compounds, and which is the subject of so much speculation in Kemble's *Saxons in England*.

Secondly, *Withington* might appear in an Anglo-Saxon charter under the form *Witting tun*. The origin and meaning of this construction have given rise to much difference of opinion among Saxon scholars, though the papers which have discussed these questions are apparently unknown to Mr. Wright. Kemble's views on the subject may be found in his *Saxons in England*, i, 60. We need not re-open the discussion. It is sufficient for my purpose to have pointed out a mode of explaining the name of *Withington*, which does not seem to have entered into Mr. Wright's calculations.

Thirdly, *Withington* might take the form of *Wittan tun*, where *Wittan* represents one of those genitives in *an*, which enter so frequently into Saxon names of places. In some few cases the ending *an* is now represented by *en* or *n*, as in Cheltenham, Orkney, etc., but in the vast majority of instances it has been corrupted into *ing*. The Anglo-Saxon *Huntan dun*, the hill of the huntsman, is now Huntingdon, and *Æbban dun*, Æbba's hill, is now Abingdon. Leamington lies on the Leam, and there can be little doubt the name is a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon *Leaman tun*, the town of the Leam-e; and in like manner Ermington on the Erme, some twelve miles east of Plymouth, must be a corruption of *Earmen tun*, the town of the Earm-e. To show how hazardous it sometimes is to reason from the English name of a place to that which prevailed during the Anglo-Saxon period, we may observe, that the Cambridgeshire Ermington (now Arrington) represented the Anglo-Saxon *Earminga tun*, the town of the Earmings or fen-men.

There are other forms which *Withington* might take in an

Anglo-Saxon charter. But enough has been advanced to shew how untenable is the proposition "that all these names ending in *ington*, *ingham*, etc., are formed of patronymics of families or clans." Though strongly tempted, I will not follow Mr. Wright's example, and bid him "go and learn the subject;" but I may be permitted to remind him that when a writer quits the shelter of an anonyme, and ventures to subscribe his name to an article, he exposes himself to criticism, and that under such circumstances it would be wise not to dogmatise upon subjects, with respect to which his knowledge is, to say the least, not quite so full and satisfactory as might be desirable.

The name of Fethgna in the Juvencus MS., written apparently in the same hand as the Welsh triplets (*Arch. Camb.*, 38, 154), goes far, when taken in connection with the name of Nuadu, to fix the writing of those triplets to the latter half of the ninth century. Both names were first pointed out by Mr. Bradshaw. The same gentleman who discovered the oldest specimen of Scotch Gaelic now extant—I refer to the Gaelic entries in the Deer MS. shortly to be published by the Spalding Club—has also furnished us with the means of determining within narrow limits the date of the oldest specimen of Welsh writing as yet known to us.

EDWIN GUEST.

THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In your last number I stated some particulars regarding the MS. called the *Cambridge Juvencus*. I now propose to give some details regarding one of the oldest and most valuable of the Welsh MSS. still preserved to us, the *Black Book of Carmarthen*; but before doing so, allow me to notice a remark made by Dr. Guest in his letter in the last number. He says:

"Patient scholarship, aided by real criticism, may, it is to be hoped, lead the way to a better understanding of these mysterious poems; and the want of trustworthy texts will, in all probability, be soon supplied. As a student of Welsh literature I might have been better pleased if some of the more valuable MSS. (the *Black Book*, for example) were published in their entirety. But till this be done we may be thankful for the collection of the historical poems promised us by Mr. Skene."

Agreeing entirely in the sentiments here expressed, I am anxious to assure Dr. Guest that I am printing, or rather have printed, the *Black Book of Caermarthen* in its entirety, *verbatim et literatim*, from beginning to end. In the advertisement of my proposed publication the following announcement was made:

"Part Second will contain the original text of the Poems as contained in the Four Ancient Books, viz., THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN, a MS. of the twelfth century; THE BOOK OF ANEURIN, a MS. of the thirteenth century; THE BOOK OF TALIESSIN, a MS. of the early part of the four-

teenth century; and THE RED BOOK OF HERGEST, a MS. transcribed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a description and fac-similes of the MSS. *The first three MSS. will be printed entire; but the Poems merely will be extracted from the Red Book of Hergest.*"

But it possibly may not have fallen under Dr. Guest's eye. The Welsh text is now printed; but the delay in publishing the work is caused by the great care with which the translations are being made.

The true value of these poems is a problem which I agree with Dr. Guest in thinking has still to be solved, and one which is well worth the attention of Welsh *literati*, both with reference to their historical worth and to their real place in Welsh literature. Are we to attach any real historical value to these poems? or are we to set them aside at once as worthless for all historical purposes, and as merely curious specimens of the nonsensical rhapsodies and perverted taste of a later age? I do not consider either the vindication of their authenticity by Turner and others, or the depreciatory criticism of Mr. Stephens, Mr. Nash, and Mr. Wright, at all satisfactory on many grounds; but mainly, 1st, because they are dealing with an untrustworthy text; and 2ndly, because the translations by which they attempt to express the meaning of these poems are exceedingly loose and inaccurate, and are, unconsciously no doubt, coloured by the views of the translators. Those who deal with these poems as the genuine works of the bards whose names they bear, and view them as containing a recondite system of Druidism, or semi-pagan philosophy, present us with a translation which, to say the least of it, is mysterious enough in all conscience. Those, again, who consider them to be the work of a later age, and to contain nothing but a mere "farrago of nonsense," have no difficulty in producing a translation which amply bears out that character.

I have always considered that the work of the editor ought to precede that of the critic. The first thing to be done is to give the text of these poems in the oldest form in which it is to be found, and in the precise form and orthography of the oldest MSS., and to present a translation which shall give as accurate and faithful a representation of the meaning of the poems as is now possible. When this is done, the work of the critic may commence; and the freer and honester the criticism, to which they are then subjected, the better for the cause of truth.

Whether these poems are the genuine works of the bards whose names they bear, or whether they are the production of a later age, I do not believe that they contain any such system of Druidism or semi-Druidism as Davies, Herbert and others attempt to find in them; nor do I think that their authors wrote, and the compilers of these ancient MSS. took the pains to transcribe, century after century, what was a mere farrago of nonsense. I think that these poems have a meaning, and that both in connexion with the history and the literature of Wales, that meaning is worth finding out, and I think if a just and candid criticism were substituted for the flippant and superficial strictures to which they have recently been subjected,

we ought to be able to ascertain their true place and value in the literature of Wales.

But to return to the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. "Prior to the year 1148," says Tanner, "a priory was founded at Carmarthen for six black canons. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and received a charter from King Henry the Second, who granted "Deo et ecclesiæ Sancti Joh. Evangelistæ de Kayrmerdyn et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus veteram Civitatem de Kayrmerdyn." It was granted 4th July, 33rd Henry VIII, to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple. Upon the dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of King Henry VIII, Sir John Price, a native of Breconshire, was among others appointed a commissioner for their suppression, and exercised this duty mainly in the county of Brecon, when he received grants of many of the religious houses. In the course of the performance of this duty, he received from the Treasurer of the Church of St. David's a MS. which had belonged to the Priory of Carmarthen, and was known by the name of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. In his *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio*, he quotes the concluding verse of the first poem in the MS.

The *Black Book of Carmarthen* is a MS. consisting of fifty-four folios of parchment, in small quarto, and written in the Gothic character with illuminated capitals, but the hand-writing varies at intervals. On page 9th there is inserted in the current hand of the sixteenth century the following sentence. It has been read with some difficulty owing to the faintness of the ink, and may not have been quite correctly transcribed.

"Kym henaeth doyth ach ny dwy yr byf heb wy bod beith wethyn er
kym eim ddar henwy dy a llyr llyfyr dy ny dwg
llyfr du

dy allu'r llyfr du nid wiss."

On folio 24 *b* two lines are added in a Gothic hand at the bottom of the page, and the following note is inserted on a separate slip of paper in the handwriting of Dr. H. Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor, who died in the year 1712. "I have an exact copy of this booke writ with y^e very same hand with that on the bottom of this leaf. Y^e 2d side of the 24th fol. my copy calls this booke y llyfr du o Gaervyrdden." There is now no trace of this copy. There is a complete and accurate copy in the Hengwrt collection, in the hand-writing of Mr. Robert Vaughan the celebrated antiquary, from which it might be inferred that Mr. Robert Vaughan was not then in possession of the original MS., but it must have passed into the Hengwrt collection prior to the year 1658, as it appears in the catalogue of the MS. books of Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, made by Mr. William Maurice in that year. It was examined by Edward Llwyd, when he was allowed a hurried inspection of the Hengwrt MS. in 1696; and it has now passed with the rest of this valuable collection into the possession of W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., of Peniarth, M.P. It is a subject of congratulation that these invaluable MSS. should have become the property of a gentleman so well able to ap-

preciate their value as Mr. Wynne, and whose liberality permits them to be used for literary purposes.

The following is a table of the contents of the MS. The title of each piece is given where there is a title prefixed to it in the original MSS.; where there is not, the first line is given. The reference number at the beginning is the folio of the MS.; at the end, the page of the *Myvyrian Archæology* in which the same piece is to be found, and the variations in the handwriting are distinguished by letters.

Handwriting large, A.

- 1 a.—"Mor truan genhyf mor truan." 48.
- 4 a.—"Breuduid a uelun neithwir."
- 5 a.—"Devs ren rimawy awen amen fiat." 186.
- 8 a.—"Hervit vrten. autyl kyrriduen".
- 9 b.—"Kyvaenad keluit. kynelv o douit." 182.
- 12 a.—"Eneid kid im guneit. in aghen digerit." 184.
- 12 b.—"Nac in adneirun nev. rim waredun." 184.
- 14 a.—"Tri an reith march Inis pridein."
- 15 a.—"Moli duu innechrev a diuet."
- 18 a.—"Gogonedauc argluit hanpich guell." 575.
- 18 b.—"Arduireau tri trined in celi." 575.
- 20 a.—"Ynenu domni meu y." 576.

Same handwriting, but smaller, B.

- 21 a.—"Brenhin guirthvin guirth uchaw yssit." 577.

Handwriting changes, C.

- 23 b.—"Adwin Caer yssit ar lan llyant." 68.
- 23 b.—"Dinas maon duv daffar." 578.
- 24 a.—"Gwin y bid hi y vedwen in diffirin guy." 578.
- 24 b.—"Afallen peren per ychagueu." 160.
- 26 b.—"Oian a parchellan a parchell dedwit." 135.

Handwriting changes, D.

- 32 a.—"Englynniionn y Bedev." 79.
- 35 b.—"Kyggogion. Elaeth ae cant." 161.
- 35 b.—"Elaeth agant. Heb coffav duv daun diffrid."
- 36 a.—"Gereint fil. erbin." 101.
- 37 a.—"Duv in kymhorth in north in porth." 578.
- 39 b.—"Assuynaw naut duv diamehv." 234.
- 40 a.—"Tra vom kyd keredd. goned kydimyteith."

Same handwriting as B.

- 41 a.—"Dv dy uarch du dy capan." 132.
- 41 b.—"Kyntaw geir adywedaw." 185.
- 43 a.—"Gvledic arbennic erbin attad." 580.
- 44 a.—"Bendith ywenwas. irdec diyrnas." 187.
- 45 a.—"Lymawel llum brin." 130.
- 47 b.—"Pa gur yv y porthaur." 167.

Same handwriting as C.

- 49 a.—"Can is coegauc issi moreurauc." 165.
- 49 b.—"Kyd karhwine morva cassaue mor." 165.

51 a.—“*Marchauc agirch y dinas.*” 46.

52 a.—“*Marunad Madauc mab maredut kyntelv pridit maur
ae cant.*”

52 b.—“*Marunad Madauc fil. Maredut.*”

Same handwriting as D.

53 b.—“*Seithenhin sawde allan.*” 165.

Same handwriting as C.

54 a.—“*Enwev. meibon Llywarch Hen.*” 118.

The MS. appears thus to have been written in four different handwritings, but they are all of the same period, and the result I have come to after an attentive study of the MS., is, that the whole of it, with the exception of a few parts, written in a later hand, and evidently inserted at a later period in some blank spaces in the MS., is of the age of Henry the II.; and this is confirmed by the two last pieces but two being laments on the death of Madauc, son of Maredut, Prince of Powys, who died in 1159, in the reign of Henry II.

Are there any indications, then, in the MS. as to the persons by whom it was compiled? I think there are, though faint and obscure.

The MS., it will be observed, contains copies of the two poems ascribed to Myrddin, called the “*Afallenau*” and the “*Hoianau*.” Mr. Stephens, in his very able work, the *Literature of the Kymri* has, in my opinion, very clearly demonstrated that both of these poems contain passages which could not have been written prior to the time of Henry II.; and he considers both poems to be compositions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The suspicious passages run through the poem of the *Hoianau* in such a manner as to indicate that the entire poem is the composition of a later age, and one passage sufficiently indicates its date where it mentions—

“*Pump pennaeth o Normandi
Ar pumed yn myned dros for heli
I oresgyn Iwerddon.*”

“Five rulers from Normandy and the fifth going across the salt sea to conquer Ireland.”

Mr. Stephens supposes that this passage refers to four Norman knights who went to Ireland in 1169 to assist Dermot McMorrough in subjugating Leinster, and that Richard Strongbow was the fifth. I do not agree with him in this. I do not see what connection they had with Wales, or why a Welsh bard should thus allude to them. I think the reference is to the four early Norman kings, viz., William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen, and the fifth, Henry II., who conquered Ireland, and points to his reign as the age of the poem. I do not think Mr. Stephens more happy in the special events he supposes to be referred to in each stanza, but I think he has clearly made out the general proposition that the entire poem is the composition of that age. This is by no means so clear as to the *Afallenau*, and the suspicious passages bear more the marks of being interpolations in an older poem.

Now, on comparing the two poems in the *Black Book* with the text in the *Myvyrian Archæology*, we find this curious result. The text of the Hoianau is the same in both, and the copy in the *Black Book* contains all the suspicious passages. The text of the Afallenau in the *Myvyrian Archæology* consists of twenty-two stanzas, that in the *Black Book* of only ten stanzas.¹ The omitted stanzas are those in which the suspicious passages exist, while the stanzas found in the *Black Book* contain none of these passages. In short, the text of the Hoianau contains the whole of the suspicious passages, that of the Afallenau is entirely free from that taint. The inference I draw is, that the Afallenau as contained in this MS. is an older poem, and that the Hoianau is a poem written in imitation of it, of the same date as the MS. itself, the idea of "oian a parchellan" which commences each stanza being taken from a stanza in the Afallenau, beginning with these words, and that the latter poem was subsequently doctored by the addition of interpolated stanzas of the same character.

Is there any thing, then, to shew by whom the Hoianau was written? It appears to me to contain one reference which cannot be mistaken in stanza eleven :—

"Oian a parchellan ai byt cyvin
Ban glyw yn llavar o Gaerfyrddin
Y ardwyaw deu geneu yn cywrhenin."

Hear, O little pig; be not open-mouthed
When thou hearest my voice from Caermarthen,
Training two youths skilfully.

I think it clear from this passage that the writer must have been one of the canons of the Priory of Carmarthen.

If the passage

"A mi a ddisgoganaf cyn fynywedd
Brython dros Saeson brithwyr ai medd,"

I will prophesy before my end :
The Brython over Saxons, the Picts say it,

refers to the writer and not to the supposed author, Myrddin, as a Pict, then, in that age the name was confined to the inhabitants of Galloway, and the author must have come from the south of Scotland.

There is another poem in the *Black Book* which deserves attention with reference to this question.

The following is the text with a literal translation.

"Dv dŷ uarch du dŷ capan.	Black thy horse, black thy cope,*
Du dŷ pen du duhanan	Black thy head, black thou thyself :

¹ The stanzas in the poem in the *Black Book*, in the order in which they occur, are the 21st, 12th, 8th, 3rd, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 22nd.

² *Capan* is usually translated "cap," but this is a modern use of the word. At that time I believe it represented the Latin *cappa*, which was the ecclesiastical cloak called the cope. In the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Henry II

Ia du ae ti yscolan.	Yes, black art thou, Yscolan.
Mi iscolan yscolheic	I am Yscolan the scholar.
Yscawin y puill iscodic.	Fickle his Scottish knowledge.
Guae. ný baut agaut guledic.	Alas! that there was not to me what the Gwledig had [of a school, ³
O losci ecluis. allat buch iscol.	For burning a church and killing the kine
Allývir rod ý voti.	And causing a book to be drowned.
Vý penhid. ýstrum kýnhi.	My penance, very heavy it is to me,
Creaudir ý creadurev. perthidev	Creator of creatures, greatest of
Muyhaw. kýrraw de imi výgev.	Supporters. Forgive me my falsehood.
Ath vradaste. am tuyllas ýnnev.	He that betrayed thee, deceived me also.
Bluytin llaun im rýdoded.	A full year I was placed
Ym. bangor ar paul cored.	At Bangor, on the pole of a weir.
Edrich de poen imý gan mor	Consider thou my sufferings from sea-worms.
prýued.	
Bei ýscuypun arvn.	If I knew what I do know,
Mor amluc guint. ý vlaen bric	How clearly the wind blows on the sprigs
guit fallum. [aun.]	of the falling wood,
Arav vneuthume bith nys gun-	What I did I never would have done.

This poem is usually considered to be a dialogue between Myrddin and Yscholan, but there is nothing in the copy in this MS. to connect it with Myrddin. Davies reads the name as two words, "Ys Colan", which he translates "the Colan", and supposes that the person meant was Columba, the celebrated Missionary from Ireland to the northern Picts of Scotland in 565, and Mr. Stephens adopts the same view and supposes the name Ys Colan to be equivalent to St. Colan or St. Columba. I do not consider this theory to be tenable. Fordun records a conversation between Myrddin and the Apostle of Strathclyde, Kentigern, which bears a remote resemblance to that between Yscolan and his unnamed interlocutor; but there is no tradition, nor any probability, that Myrddin came in contact with Columba, neither does the construction of the Welsh language justify the separation of the first syllable "Ys" from the rest of the name, and extracting a name "Colan" out of it. There is a class of words in Welsh in which "Ys" may be viewed as a separable prefix, but in most of the words beginning with "Ys" the letter *y* alone has been prefixed, and the letter *s* is an essential part of the word, as in "*ysbryd*" (spirit), "*yscol*", school, etc., and this is the case in all proper names, thus Ystyffan, Stephen, etc., when the syllable "ys" cannot be thrown off.

The same name occurs in the lives of St. David, when he is said

is said to have given to the choir of St. David's "*deu gappan cor*," translated "two choral caps"; a strangely small gift for a king. What are choral caps? In a Catholic choir the two cantors wear copes, and no doubt the gift was that of two copes for the choir.

³ Mr. Stephens translates this "hindered school instruction." This is a good illustration of loose translating. How that meaning can be extracted out of the words "*allat buch yscol*," I cannot conceive. *Boddi* is to "drown or be drowned." The Irish equivalent is "*bath*, drown"; but it has also the secondary sense of blot out, suppress, cancel; and I suspect that this is the meaning of the Welsh word here.

to have met an Irish ecclesiastic called Scuthyn, at a place called Bed Yscolan. Its equivalent in Irish is not Colan or Columba, but Scolan. In another life, in mentioning this Scuthyn or Scutinus, it is added, who had another name Scolanus. The name also occurs in the old Scottish Acts of Parliament in the reign of Alexander the II, when, in the year 1228, "*Judicatum est de Gillescop makscolane per diversos judices tam Galwidie quam Scocie*," which gives us an instance of the name about the date of our MS., and, strangely enough, connects it with Galloway. It is plain, therefore, that it is impossible to read the name Collum or Columba out of it, and what renders the supposition still more unlikely, is that while the "Yscolan" of the poem is described as black in dress and appearance, the dress of St. Columba and his monks happens to have been white, as appears from his life by Adomnan.

It has always appeared to me plain, that the dress and appearance here described, was simply that of the Black Canons of St. Augustine, who wore a black cassock, and over it a black cloak or cope and hood, with a black cap; and if I am correct in this view, it will bring the composition of this poem likewise, and Yscolan himself, to the period when the *Black Book of Carmarthen* was compiled. The name of Ysgodic or Scottish, though applicable to Ireland at an early period, was, in the twelfth century, appropriated to Scotland, and we have thus again here the appearance of a Canon of the Priory of Carmarthen of Scottish origin, and apparently from his name connected with Galloway, who is addressed in this poem, and his being contemporaneous with the compilation of the MS. throws additional interest on the allusions contained in it.

It is only necessary to notice in conclusion, that the MS. contains part of the triads which gives them a greater antiquity than has hitherto been supposed. The triads contained in this MS. are part of the *Trioedd y meirch* (*M. A.*, vol. ii, p. 20, triads 2, 4, 6, and 7), and I may add, that Mr. Wynne has favoured me with a sight of one of the Hengwrt MSS. which is certainly not later than the year 1300, and which contains a large portion of the triads contained in the first set, in the second vol. of the *Myv. Arch.*, commencing with triad 7, p. 3.

WILLIAM F. SKENE.

20, Inverleith Row, Edinburgh, 12th May, 1864.

LLANDYSSUL CHURCH, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I must crave permission to make a few remarks on a paper that appeared in the April number of the *Journal*, by my friend Mr. Longueville Jones, with reference to this parish, and the destruction of the old church in it. I will be as brief as I can, though it is hard to condense all that ought fairly to be said in justification of the work now proceeding. I have as great respect for antiquity

within its proper bounds as my friend can have; but I would not let it stand in the way of what is connected both with the real work of religion, as well as the honour that is due to God, and I confess I am utterly astonished that a good churchman like my friend, should advocate, as he does, cheap patching of old churches. But to the point at issue. I wonder he did not see that the present building did not "possess the affectionate veneration of the inhabitants" of the parish, or they would not have neglected it, and suffered the walls of the church-yard to fall down in many places, so that the graves are constantly trespassed over by cattle. Next, I wonder he did not remember that the old "fellows and neighbours" of this church have long ago passed away, and that Welshpool, Montgomery, Berriew, Llanmarewio, Newtown, and Aberhafesp, have nothing in the world with which our proposed new church will "jar" in any way.

Then, as to the church itself. I suspect the date of the present building is that which I find within it, 1625—or on a stone without, 1640. This is my friend's church æra, which he so greatly respects. The real old church was a late Norman one, of which there is a very small portion remaining. If, then we are to restore to the pattern of an old church, why not go back to the Norman rather than the seventeenth century church? But now as to the remains of the later building. In 1798-1802, the parishioners removed the rude old screen that existed as a rood loft; took out all the mullions of the windows (though I doubt whether they altered their shape), and glazed them after their own improved ideas; disposed of the old font, which an old man told me was large enough to "hold a strike and a half of bread"! gave away the font cover, which was converted into a round tea-table, and so destroyed everything that was worth preserving, except the belfry. I am not sure that they then cut away the hideous tie beams that must at some time or other have existed. Perhaps they did. But if they were all of the same type as the remaining one, of which my friend is so enamoured, they must have been ugly enough. He, with apparent delight, remarks that "it is peculiar from its rising in the middle." I conclude it is merely the shape of the tree that was roughly hewn and laid in its place. The bosses on it are very correctly sketched, and I leave their value, like that of the "two heads of excellent and very decided character, terminations of the dripstone," to be decided by our friends. I only add, I should be very sorry to see "such a treasure," as he calls the tie beam, introduced into any new or restored church.

Next my friend says, "The striking feature of the church is the wooden belfry." It certainly is, as all will admit who see the sketch of it, which gives it every advantage. It is just what would be suitable for a pigeon-house—not nearly good enough for a new stable. No doubt it was the best thing of the kind that our forefathers here with their abundance of oak and impassable roads, and lack of stone, and I must add of a good architect, could contrive. But why my friend should wish this parish to be for ever tied down to so clumsy an erection as all sufficient for the House of our God, I cannot conceive.

If he had lived in days of old, when church restorers knew how to build edifices worthy of the majesty of God, no such glorious churches as those of Lincolnshire, or Northamptonshire, or other counties would ever have been reared, at least with *his* good will. In our own diocese we never should have had such churches as Mold, Wrexham, Gresford, and others. He would have carefully preserved the old wattled buildings of the first Christians; or restored all after their type.

And now a word as to the cost of restoration here. To have made even a *safe job* the north and east walls would have had to be rebuilt entirely, and a part of the south wall. The roof must have been taken off and a great portion of it renewed; which would not have improved its faulty construction. The whole would have had to be re-slatted; all the windows made new; the floor relaid; the pews removed (they are of excellent though thin material, but horrible in construction, and to re-construct them would have cost more than new ones); and then this beautiful belfry must have been taken *all down*, and entirely put together afresh, and *re-erected*. And my friend tells me all this could be done for £500. Why! a neighbouring church which was a sound one compared to ours, cost that sum, when done in the cheapest way (though I must say, all praise to the rector of it for the excellent work he did with very scanty means). But I have had experience enough in building to tell me that not twice £500 would have ever restored this church, even in the simplest way, if the work was not to be mere patch-work. Let me quote a portion of our architect's report. "The south wall is pretty sound, having been rebuilt by an old man now in the village, but from the pressure of the roof it has been forced several inches out of the perpendicular. The eastern wall is in a very unsound and questionable state, having a large crack near the corner. The north wall is in a frightful state, bulged and cracked, and in a great portion of its length leaning over most dangerously to the extent of one foot five inches in a height of seven feet six inches in one place, and in another to the extent of eleven inches in a height of four feet. It would not surprise me any day to hear that the walls had gone out and the roof come in. The bell-turret is quite as alarming. It leans over to the extent of one foot five inches. The timbers, from exposure to the weather, have rotted sadly. *The mortices and tenons have become useless*, and the pins have drawn away in several places." This, I suppose, my friend would patch with iron cramps and pins (as a Dissenter once proposed to me as all sufficient.)

If he has no fear of these things falling, let me tell him that the whole west wall fell down some years ago, without any warning, while the congregation were in church. Very competent persons, to whom I have spoken on the subject, quite laughed at the idea of the belfry ever being restored to the perpendicular.

In conclusion, I will only say that there could be no real question that a *new* church was *required*. In the old church there was no-

thing curious except the belfry, and that will be preserved *on paper*. I have determined on the removal of the site to make it more accessible to all, especially the weakly and aged who are now to a great extent deprived of their church before their time, from the difficulty of getting to it. Frequently bones have been broken in winter by falls in coming down the hill from the present church, and I have had to do duty there when not a dozen of my parishioners would follow me through the streams of water I have had to jump over to get to it; so that I have no hesitation in saying it will be for the spiritual good of the people the site should be changed. Nothing else would have induced me to do it. If my friend condemns me for building in a vale, and adopting the early English style, I am content to follow examples he greatly reverences, Valle Crucis, Vanner, and others.

It so happens that we do *not* employ "local builders", as my friend intimates, nor adopt modern principles of construction. Every thing is being done in the best possible manner, and under the superintendence of an excellent clerk of the works. So my friend might have spared his sarcasm and his bitterness. Moreover, we do *not* mean "to cut down the old yew tree," nor "sell the tombstones" (though I do wish we could bury them and get more *Christian* ones in their place). I hope the parishioners *will* "think it worth while to keep up the fence round the old churchyard (which will still be our cemetery), and that we shall have a good lich gate of ancient, not of "new design"; and I certainly do not fear that "the Dissenting chapel in a neighbouring lane" will gain an increased value as "the oldest place of worship in the parish" (this might equally be urged against any rebuilding of an old church); but I believe and hope, that by God's blessing, the new church will lead the parishioners not only to love the church more, but to serve God better, and so lend in some way, however humble, to promote Christ's kingdom upon earth, and lead to the salvation of souls.

Yours faithfully,

H. P. FFOULKES, Rector of Llandyssil.

Rectory, June 1, 1864.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE arrangements for the Meeting at Haverfordwest will be found fully detailed in the notice inserted at the end of this number of the Journal.

Miscellaneous Notices.

ROYAL INSTITUTION OF CORNWALL.—We are glad to find, from the Report of the Annual Meeting of 1864, that this Society is about to publish a journal instead of the brief Report hitherto annually printed. Cornwall is quite rich enough in natural history and antiquities to demand a publication of this kind; and we have no doubt that it will be found worthy of the learned body from which it proceeds.

TREGARON. EARLY INSCRIBED STONE.—Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his *History of Cardiganshire*, mentions an early inscribed stone as extant at Tregaron. It is no longer to be found in this place; but we understand that it is preserved at Goodrich Court, whither it was probably removed by that learned antiquary. It is said to be Roman in character; and we should be glad to publish an illustrated account of it.

THE FOUR ANCIENT BOOKS OF WALES. Containing the Kymric Poems attributed to the Bards of the Sixth Century.—Mr. W. F. Skene, of Edinburgh, is about to publish, in two volumes 8vo, the Welsh poems attributed to bards of the sixth century. Part First will contain an historical introduction and an English version of these poems. Part Second will contain the original text as contained in the four ancient books, viz., *The Black Book of Caermarthen*, a MS. of the twelfth century; *The Book of Aneurin*, a MS. of the thirteenth century; *The Book of Taliessin*, a MS. of the early part of the fourteenth century; and *The Red Book of Hergest*, a MS. transcribed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with a description and facsimiles of the MSS. The first three MSS. will be printed entire; but the Poems merely will be extracted from *The Red Book of Hergest*.

CILGERRAN CASTLE.—It gives us great pleasure to state that the wall of this castle, which lately fell into ruin, has been rebuilt by the care of Col. Lewis. Such an example of good taste and right feeling is most gratifying to notice at a time when too much neglect of ancient buildings prevails.

LUDLOW CASTLE.—An incised stone coffin-lid has been lately discovered in Mortimer's Tower, where it is put up horizontally as the chimneypiece of an apartment hitherto used as a store. It bears a cross within a circle, and below some fleurs-de-lys, with a hatchet of the same shape as may be seen quartered in French coats of arms. It is conjectured to be of the thirteenth century.

A LECTURE ON PEMBROKESHIRE.—We have been too tardy in noticing an excellent lecture on the history, dialects, tribes, etc., of Pembrokeshire, delivered at Milford more than a year ago by the Rev. J. Tombs. It is full of information put together in a clear and agree-

able manner, and well calculated to excite public attention. It is published at Haverfordwest (Perkins), and will, we hope, be read before the Association at the approaching meeting in that ancient town.

LEXICON CORNU-BRITANNICUM.—We are glad to inform our readers that the third part of the Cornish Dictionary is now passing through the press, and more than half of it printed off, bringing the work down to the letter W. The letter Y and the Appendix will fill about seven or eight sheets more, when the whole will be ready for delivery. Parts II and III will be published together.

Reviews.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS. EVANS.

If this volume is a valuable acquisition to those of Her Majesty's loyal subjects who wish to know something about the circulating medium of their parti-coloured predecessors, it must be pre-eminently valuable to those most loyal of loyal ones who claim to be the sole representatives and undiluted descendants of the ancient Britons, although at the present day hemmed into one corner of the land by unscrupulous Saxon or ferocious Norman. Nor will it diminish their satisfaction that it has been reserved for one of their primitive stock, (as we infer from his name) to clear away the ancient rubbish of Obadiah Walker and others, and extinguish the modern Firbolgian theory of Mr. Beale Poste. Writers, such as Hawkins, Akerman, Roach Smith, and others, have of later years prepared the way, but no such complete and comprehensive work existed until Mr. Evans's volume appeared, which for the clear and impartial manner in which the whole subject is thoroughly ventilated, as well as the number and execution of the plates, must be considered *the* book of the day, and in all probability for many days to come.

The value of a knowledge of coins in elucidating the obscurest portions of early history is universally acknowledged. It is singular, therefore, that a people decidedly of intellectual character, who can swallow any amount of nonsense, provided that it is called part of their ancient history, should not have turned their attention to this subject, for we cannot find a single Welshman, even indulging in the speculations of the Obadiah Walker school, with the exception of Edward Llwyd, who did not belong, however, to that school, and the Rev. Edw. Davies who most decidedly did, and discovered that these pieces were not coins at all, but merely commemorative medals of religious character, struck in honour of British gods.

The ignorance, even at this day, of the upper classes in Wales as regards ancient British money is, we fear, too general. Not long since a respectable clergyman of Glamorganshire ventured to refute the statement, that the Welsh princes never struck any money of their own, by asserting that he had himself seen a coin of Jestyn ap Gwrgant, that there could be no mistake, his likeness and superscription were

perfect; that the fortunate owner, a tradesman, was going to sell it to the trustees of the British Museum, who would give any amount for it. This wonderful coin of course turned out to be the common half-penny token of 1795, and, if in good condition, worth one penny.

One of the chief recommendations of this book, is the honest impartiality in which every doubtful point is discussed. No preconceived ideas or favourite theory finds more favour than the statements or views of those who hold opposing opinions. Both sides of the question are fairly examined, and the reader is left to form his own judgment. When arguments are alleged on any particular point, there is no straining of them in one direction. Both sides of the picture are equally exhibited, so that the younger and more inexperienced numismatist may at once banish all suspicion that he is only presented with one view of the subject, and not with all that can be stated, for or against. Let us take, for instance, the Bodvoc coins which, as "an ancient Briton," Mr. Evans might have been inclined to have claimed for Wales—in spite of a little chronological hitch. This difficulty Professor Westwood (with any thing but a Welsh name) wishes to get over by suggesting that Bodvoc, the Christian chief (whose sepulchral monument he has so well discussed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* of 1859) had stamped his name on the plain reverses of earlier coins. If such a view could be admitted, there would have been at least one native Regulus of Wales proper, who could have claimed to have had some money of his own. We fear, however, this Bodvoc has no better claim than Boadicea, who has so long had the credit of them. All that we know for certain is, that coins of this type are invariably found in the west of England—that they may, as Camden suggested, be connected with the Boduni, whose capital was Corinium (Cirencester). Mr. Evans, however, very properly observes, that such a name could hardly represent a tribe, although it might be the name of a prince whose name bore some allusion to his tribe. The name, as we are informed, occurs among potters' marks from the Allier, and BODVACVS is found among Gaulish names on the triumphal arch at Orange, so that it may be a distinct name totally unconnected with Boduni.

We fear we must give up also the coins with SEGO, and that if that word stands for SEGONTIVM, that Segontium is not in Carnarvonshire, or in Wales at all. No coin of that type has been found so far north, or in any part of the Principality. The extreme rarity, indeed, of any British coins in all Wales is a remarkable circumstance. Roman money of various dates is constantly turning up. Early Saxon ones have been found in the most remote districts; but British ones, we believe, hardly ever occur. The only instance we know of, is one lately found near Dinas in Breconshire, and now in the possession of Joseph Joseph, Esq., of Brecon. It appears to be of the type given by Mr. Evans, plate c, fig. 4, or plate i, figs. 4, 7. One other coin must also be surrendered, if not by us, at least by our neighbours of the Welsh Marches; for the coins inscribed RICON or RICONI have been erroneously given to Uriconium (Wroxeter), such coins not having yet been discovered in that district.

To give up, however, our old friend Caractacus is still more pain-

ful; but there is no help. From Camden's time, who first ascribed a certain coin to Caractacus, to that of Mr. Beale Poste, who, by suggesting the use of mixed Latin and Greek characters in the same legend, thought to get over his difficulty, there have not been wanting those who maintained the coin in question to have been struck by that celebrated Silurian chief. We cannot, however, do better than let Mr. Evans tell us the history of this dispute, in his account of the coins of Eptaticcus.

"The type of the coin, though new to numismatists of the day, had, however, long since been described; and not only so, but upwards of two hundred years ago, in the dawn of antiquarian knowledge in this country, engravings were made from two specimens,—one evidently in fine preservation, and the other apparently abraded, as a variation is made in the legend. This latter was given by Camden, and is to be found in all the earlier editions of the *Britannia*. He gives the devices pretty correctly, but makes the legend TASCIE and CEARATIC."

Here follows a short quotation from Camden's description, and his assigning the coin to Caractacus. Nicholas Fabri de Peiresc, in a letter to Camden, thought the legend should be read C. VERATIC. It is omitted entirely in Gough's edition of *Camden*. Pegge, following Camden, ascribed it to Cunobeline, and thought CEARATIC to denote some place in his territory. Wise referred it to a Spanish tribe of the Vascones. Mr. Evans then goes on.

"Stukely copied the coins into his plates; but made the legend CARATIC, the better to suit its supposed attribution to CARATICVS. In this attribution of the coins to Caractacus, Stukeley is followed, even at the present day, by Mr. Beale Poste, with what reason will be subsequently seen. We can hardly find a better example of the danger of interpreting coins in accordance with preconceived opinions than we have here. The name of Caractacus (if that, indeed, be the correct version of the name of that chief) has, of course, been long familiar to the students of British history; and it has been solely from a desire to attribute coins to him that the legend on this piece has been so much abused; for it may be regarded as a certain fact, that, had the name of Caractacus been unknown, the legend on these gold coins would never have been read as CEARATIC. In reading it thus it is evident that the antiquaries I have mentioned sinned against light; for Speed, in his *Chronicle*, has engraved a specimen from the collection of Sir Robert Cotton of Cunington with the legends distinctly TASCIE and EPATIC V. To get over this, Mr. Poste actually proposes to regard the legend as CARPATIC (CAERATIC), in mixed Greek and Roman letters, notwithstanding the improbability of such a mixture, and regardless of having to commence the legend in a place where no one would, under ordinary circumstances, dream of commencing it, and unmindful of the inverted position of A, for which the V is made to do duty. The improbability of this interpretation is, however, far outdone by that of the same author when he treats of the silver coins with the type of the head of Hercules in the lion's skin, the paws meeting under his chin, and with the legends EPAT or EPATI. He first of all converts the lion's paws into the letter K, then reads the whole as in Greek letters, and makes the KEPATI thus obtained to stand for Caractacus. It seems needless to refute such assumptions; but it may be as well to remark that when any coins of Caractacus are discovered (if such an event ever takes place), we may at all events expect to find that Roman letters will have been used upon them, as they always are, without exception, on the coins of his father Cunobeline and his grandfather Tasciovanus."

As to the question whether Britain had a coinage of its own previous to the first invasion of Julius Cæsar, Mr. Evans decides that there was one, and judging from the continued diminution of weight, which he assumes to have been tolerably uniform, and in some degree from the degradation of types, he arrives at the conclusion that it is highly probable that there was a native coinage in Britain as early as 150 B.C. That there were genuine British coins some ten or twenty years before the Christian era, is undoubted, if the Commius of Cæsar was the father of Tincommius and his brothers, and the Damno Bellaunus of the Ancyra inscription, is to be identified with Dubnovellaunus, and if also Tasciovanus was the father of Cunobelinus, and therefore cotemporary with Augustus. It is, therefore, from this epoch that Mr. Evans calculates, and allows one hundred and thirty years from the first introduction of the unlettered types, until the modifications imported evidently from the Roman mints. That they are also a Belgic importation, we may infer from their being now principally found only in districts occupied or connected with them; but whether we are to put the invasion of the south of England by this people to the date fixed by Mr. Evans for the introduction of their coins, is another and interesting question.

The difficulties hitherto existing about the antiquity of British coins, may now be considered removed. The principal one of these was the famous text in Cæsar, which Mr. Hawkins has satisfactorily shown to state positively that a gold coinage was in use at the period of the first invasion. The statement of Quintus, that there was no gold in Britain, seems to have been doubted even by his brother, the great orator, and is contradicted by the fact that gold is still found in England. Mr. Evans quotes Borlase as to the discovery of a nugget in Cornwall. He might have added, the gold mines now worked in Merionethshire and the well-known Gogofau mines in Carmarthenshire, so effectually cleaned out by the Romans, and probably not unknown to the natives. The immense quantity of gold also that has been at various times found in Ireland in the form of torques, bracelets, and other ornaments, is well known, to say nothing of similar discoveries in England, as lately in Sussex; so that there was evidently no want of the precious metal. Whether, however, the *pecunia imperata* mentioned by Cicero, and the yearly tribute alluded to by later writers, necessarily implied the existence of a coinage, is uncertain. Our Welsh princes had to pay similar tributes of money to Saxon kings, and they certainly had no money of their own, and probably little intercourse with their troublesome neighbours; and yet, we may be sure, the tribute was paid. Still, however, the statement of Cicero is of considerable importance, and confirms the correctness of Mr. Evans's view, if it does not prove it.

The inscribed coins are, of course, far more important than the uninscribed ones. To notice them, even in a cursory manner, would be far beyond our limits; and even had those limits been extended, it would have been impossible to do anything approaching justice to the admirable manner in which they are successively discussed by

Mr. Evans. We can only repeat our advice to procure a book, which every student of British history should have on his shelves.

There are, however, one or two we cannot omit, partly from their importance, and partly from the amusing theories which have been started concerning them. We allude more particularly to those connected with Commius and Tasciovanus. The former are found in the South Eastern district, and are variously inscribed C. F., COM. F., or COMM. F. in pure Roman characters. We do not stop to state how these have been interpreted at various times. The latest and most original version is that of Mr. Beale Poste, who thinks F stands for Firbolg or a *Belgic man*, and COMM for *community* or *confederacy*. This theory is summarily and effectually extinguished by Mr. Evans, p. 55. We are indebted, however, for what is now generally acknowledged to be the real meaning, to Mr. Birch, who reads *Filius Commii*.

Whether this Commius is the same person as the Commius of Cæsar, can neither be affirmed nor denied; but what we know of his history seems to make it probable that he is the same person. We know that he was made king by Cæsar over the Atrebatas in Gaul (Artois), and was sent by him to Britain as an influential person; that on his arrival he was imprisoned, and liberated after the defeat of the Britons. He subsequently returned to Gaul, turned against the Romans, and fled into Britain. In B.C. 51, he was again in arms against his former friends, and was defeated. He is not heard of again in Gaul; and Mr. Evans fairly conjectures that he returned to Britain for the last time, where his active opposition to the Romans made up for his earlier alliance with them, and restored him to popularity and influence.

We next find numerous coins in the English Atrebatian district with three names, and the addition, more or less varied, of COM. F.; that these coins are nearly contemporary, and appear to have distinct and separate districts. Putting these facts together, and adding to them the strong indications they bear of foreign art, and the purely Roman form of the letters, most impartial judges will probably accept Mr. Birch's solution. If Augustus made or tried to make political capital by adding DIVI F. to his coins, why should not the sons of Commius have tried their hands at the same speculation. Whether this Commius is or is not the Commius of Cæsar, we do not know for certain; but he evidently was a man of power and influence, as evinced by his sons perpetuating his name on their own coins. Thus, then, numismatic science fills up a hiatus in historic records by informing us that Commius was a great prince of the southern portion of the kingdom, and had three sons, Tinc (ommius), Verica, and Epillus. We have, however, no certain coin of Commius himself, although Mr. Evans describes one (Plate 1, No. 10), which retains only the latter part of the name, and may have had a syllable before it—probably Tin; so that the coin in this case would belong to the son and not the father.

The other more interesting series of coins is those which contain the name of Tasci, with variations, and which have sadly puzzled

the brains of some numismatists. One of our own countrymen, "Master David Powell", found out that Tascia meant Tax. Wise turned it into TASCIO, and assigned it to a tribe in Gallia Narbonensis. Pettingal (with ταςος, or perhaps twysog in his head) was convinced it was a term for Prince. Pegge discovered that TASCIO was the name of a provincial artist in the time of Cunobeline; Mr. Beale Poste and others consider it a titular designation; Mr. Hawkins gives it up in despair; Lelewel coolly informs us there is no doubt that it is an abbreviation of Tasciovania, or Tasciovanium, a name invented for the occasion, no such place being known. And now comes in our good friend Mr. Birch again to the rescue, and proposes a new reading—TASC. F, or the son of Tasciovanus; and if the coin given at plate xii, No. 4, is what Mr. Evans thinks it is, and his opinion is not to be lightly disregarded, then the matter may be considered settled, and we learn that Tasciovanus was the father of Cunobelinus, and for various reasonings from the numerous coins themselves (for which we refer the reader to Mr. Evans's book) that he probably died A.D. 5. Geoffrey of Monmouth calls the father of Cunobelinus Tenuantius. Allowing for the effects of various spellings and changes of letters, Tasciovanus may have been metamorphosed into Tenuantius, and thus Mr. Birch's reading be accidentally confirmed by Geoffrey.

We have already alluded to Epaticcus, manufactured by some into Caractacus, but restored by Mr. Evans to his own individuality. His coins have also TASCIO F; and this appears to be the true reading. Tasciovanus, therefore, had another son besides Cunobeline, and as his coins are much later than those of his brother, and confined to two types, it may fairly be conjectured that either the dominions of Epaticcus were small or held only for a short period. It may be next inferred that, as his coins have only been found in western Surrey and eastern Wiltshire, that that district was under his rule. But Tasciovanus coined the money marked Sego, and the Segontians would be included in this same district. Therefore Mr. Evans concludes that Epaticcus may be considered as regulus of the Segontiaci. Much of this, indeed, rests on conjecture only, but when conjectures are consistent with established facts, and the laws of reason and probability, they are of no less interest than importance where other sources of knowledge are wanting.

There are other names of reguli known only by their money, but with one exception we must pass them over. The exception we allude to, is that of Dubnobelinus, one of more particular interest, as it was not till 1851 that any coins were assigned to that prince simultaneously by Mr. Birch and Mr. Evans—and because the name is recorded in the Ancyra inscription as one of the suppliants of Augustus. This inscription is bilingual, and there may be some little doubt as to the filling up the *lacuna*. Mr. Evans prefers the Latin to the Greek statement, and thinks that DAMNO BELLA [VNVS QVE] ET TIM to mean not three but two names, namely, DAMNOBELLA VNVS and TIM. The latter he conjectures may be TIM [commius], the son of Commius, and whose coins would correspond as to date. The former he has no doubt, and many will agree with

him, is to be identified with the Dubnovellaunus of the coins. These names immediately succeed in the Ancyra inscription those of Tirdates and Phraates, who we know had been ejected from their thrones, and according to Mr. Evans's views, as drawn from a careful examination of his coins, Dubnovellaunus had suffered the same treatment. The process by which this view is arrived at is something of this kind. There is an older type of this prince found only in Kent, and a later one principally discovered in Essex. Now, Epillus, a son of Commius, and styled REX, was king at least of a part of Kent; for there only are his coins found; and, although these show more signs of Roman influence than those of Dubnovellaunus, yet Mr. Evans thinks it likely they were cotemporaries. With these data allowed, the story is soon put together. Dumnovellaunus was first king of Kent, and subsequently removed into Essex either as a conqueror, or ejected by Epillus. He suffers subsequently the same treatment from Cunobelinus, and is forced to leave Essex, while the conqueror establishes his mint at Camolodunum (Colchester), his father, Tasciovanus, having, or having had, his at Verulamium. We may well, therefore, expect to find him begging the assistance of Augustus. This little episode in early British history has indeed but a feeble foundation, as Mr. Evans acknowledges. It must be taken for what it is worth; but at any rate there is nothing improbable or absurd in it, which we cannot always say for some portions of early British history most religiously believed even in the present century by the descendants of ancient Britons.

At any rate, we may be pretty sure that Dubnovellaunus was a prince in the south-east of England, and a petitioner of Augustus, that Commius was also a chief and the father of three sons, and that our own Cymbeline had a father Tasciovanus, and a brother called Epaticcus.

If nothing else had been contributed to the monuments of British history by Mr. Evans and his friends, they must be said to have deserved well of their country. The time may possibly come, but we fear it is unlikely, when chance may discover inscribed coins on Welsh territory. If so, we may one day know the name of princes of the Dimetæ or Silurians, or even the Ordovices, perhaps the names of their fathers, or the places where they struck their money. We have, however, first to catch our hare; but when caught, we shall not have to hunt for qualified cooks to dress it, as long as we have Mr. Evans and his friends to apply to.

M. De Saulcy is at present engaged on a history of Gaulish coins; and, from what is known of him, we may expect that his work will be no unfit companion for Mr. Evans's account of British money. The two subjects, although distinct in one sense, are so intimately connected in another, that it is no small honour for England to have had the start by the appearance of Mr. Evans's volume, which we trust will be appreciated in England, and especially in Wales, as it will be undoubtedly in France.

Archæologia Cambrensis.

THIRD SERIES, No. XL.—OCTOBER, 1864.

MANSELL EVIDENCES.

THE DESCENT FROM SCURLAGE.

THE Mansells of Oxwich' possessed, and their representatives still possess, the manor of Scurlage Castle in Gower, and quartered the arms of that family, but it is believed that sound documentary evidence of the descent by which they acquired it has not hitherto been produced. Such evidence seems to be contained within the following inquisition, transcribed from the original parchment now preserved in the Public Record Office in London; and for this and other reasons it seems worthy of a place in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

COPY OF A RECORD IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
ENTITLED "WAILIA. MISCELLANEOUS BAG, NO. 28."

(Late in the Treasury of the Eschequer.) 1 Hen. IV.

Inquisicio capta die Lune xv^o die Junii a^o regni Regis Henrici Quarti primo coram Will'mo Stradlyng Chr' sen' Gower & Joh'e Boner Eschaetore jux'a mandatum D'ni Regis p'd'c'o Will'o directu' sub sigillo privato in hec v'ba Henri par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterre & de France & S'r Dirlande a n're Chier & foyale William Stradlyng sen' de la s'ie de Gower en Southgales esteiant en no' maignes acause du meyndre age de Thomas fil' & heir Thomas de Mowbray nadgaires duc d' Norff' & s'r de Gower salu' Nous vo' mandons q' alesche-tour de la dit s'ie donez en mandement q' par s'ement des prod-

hommes & loyale de sa Baillie p' queux la v'itee p'ra mieulx estre scieue il face diligemment enquerre si un Ric' Maunsell soyt p'cheyn heire en tayl a un Ric' Scorlag le puisne de certeyn terres & ten'tz en Lanrythian deyns la dit s'ie des queux le dit Ric' Scorlag morust seisez come tenant en taille a ce qest dit & quel temps le Richard Scorlag morust & du quel age le dit Ric' Maunsell est et en cas qil soyt ensy p'cheyn heir a dit Ric' Scorlag dascuns cieux terres & tenementz adonques des queux terres & tent' il soit ensi heir amesne celi Ric' Scorlag & combien mesmes le terres & tent' vaillant par an en tou' issues & qi ou queux iceux terres & tenement' ad ou ont ocupies puis lamort du dit Ric' Scorlag' & ent pris les issues & p'fit' p' quel titre coment & en quel maner et si mesmes les terres et tent' en ascune temps passes furent seisez es maignes du S'r de Gower a cause du meindre age dit Ric' Maunsel ou nemy & de toutes altres circu'stances touchant cel matier et q' la dit enquest ensi prise il no' face envoyer devant vo' en la Court de la dit s'ie desou' son' scal & les sealx de ceux p' queux la dit enquest s'ra ensi prise No' envoyant de sou' v're seale en loffice de n're p've seale la tenure de la dit enqueste ensemblement avec cestes no' l'res Don' sou' n're p've seal a Westm' le xxxj jour de May l'an de n're regne primer Virtute cuj' mandati p' sacr'm Jev' ap Cradoc Joh'is ap Thome Je' Joh'is Griff't Joh'is ap D'd ap Ph' Joh's Owen Daukyn Willy Joh'is Howel Henrici Griff't Joh'is Vachan Joh'is ap D'd ap Jev' & Joh'is Gronou jurat' q' dicunt p' sacr'm sua q' Ric'us Scorlag' Jun' fuit seisitus de uno molendino de valore xls. p' annu' & certis t'ris & ten' de valore lxs. p' annu' in Lanrithian & inde obiit seisit' in festo S'c'i Jacobi Ap'l' a'o rr' Ric' S'c'di post conquestu' xiiij^o et q'd Ric'us Maunsell est p'pinquior her' pred'ci Ric'i Scorlag' sibi & her' masculis de corpore suo exe'untib' Dicu't & q' Ric'us Maunsell est de etate xxiiij^{or} anno' & ampli' It' dicu't q'd Thomas de Bellocampo Comes Warr' tu'c D'n's Gower post morte' p'd'c'i Ric'i Scorlag' p'd'c'm molend' t'r' & ten' in manu sua seisivit rac'o'e minoris etat' p'd'c' Ric'i Maunsell sine aliqua alia causa & eo' p'ficua in o'ib' exitib' p'cepit a festo S'c'i Jacobi p'd'c'i usq' in quintu' decimu' die' S'c'i Hillarii a'o rr' Ric'i p'd'c'i xx^o a quo die Thomas Mowbray tu'c Marescallus Anglie D'm'um Gower in Curia D'ni Reg' recup'avit & p'ficua p'd'c'o molend' terr' & tent' p'cepit usq' in festu' S'c'i Mich'is ulti'o p't'ito a quo die D'n's Rex qui nu'c est p'd'c'a p'ficua p'cepit & adhuc percipit In cuj' rei testi'o'm sigill' jurato' p'd'c'or' huic Inquisic'o'i sunt appens'.

It appears from the above, that by a warrant dated

Westminster, 31st May, 1 Henry IV (1400), Sir William Stradlyng, seneschal of the signory of Gower, was directed to enquire if Richard Mansell be the next heir in tail to Richard Scurlage the younger, of certain lands, etc., in Lanridian, of which Scurlage died seized. Further, when Richard Scurlage so died, what is the present age of Richard Mansell? In case he should be the heir, of what tenements, etc., is he heir? What are they worth annually? By whom have they been held since the death of Scurlage? In what manner, and by what title? and whether in time past they were seized in the hands of the Lord of Gower by reason of the nonage of Richard Mansell.

In consequence, Sir William held an inquisition on Monday, 15th June, 1 Henry IV (1400), and made the return from whence it appears that Richard Scurlage, junior, that is, son of Richard Scurlage, held under the Lord of Gower in Lanrithian (now Llanrhidian), a mill worth 40s., and lands and tenements worth 60s., annual value, of which he died seized, on the feast of St. James the Apostle, 14 R. II (25th July, 1390), when Richard Mansell, then a minor, was his next heir.

Richard Mansell, it appears, was 24 years and upwards at the inquisition, and was therefore born about 1376, or 49-50 Edward III, and at Scurlage's death was about 14 years old. Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Lord of Gower, therefore took custody of the lands and enjoyed the profits to the quinzaine of St. Hilary (27th January), 20 R. II; that is, until Mansell came of age, when for some reason the wardship was prolonged, and Thomas Mowbray recovered it in the King's Court, and received the profits until Michaelmas 1399, when the King stepped in, on the ground of the minority of Thomas Mowbray the heir.

No doubt the inquisition took place on the petition of Richard Mansell to be admitted to his inheritance.

Scurlage Castle is not mentioned in the Inquisition. It is in Llandewi parish, not Llanrhidian, and may not have been held under the lords of Gower, though had

the tenure been *in capite* it would have been held in ward by the Crown, and probably would have been named.

Richard Mansell held half a fee in Finelstre in Gower, under John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, in 1432-3, being so named in the Inquisition on the Duke. According to the received pedigree he was son of Sir Hugh of Oxwich, and grandson of Richard Mansell, who married Lucy, daughter and heir of Philip Scurlage, of Scurlage Castle. So that Scurlage Castle may have passed to Lucy, and Llanrhidian to an uncle or nephew, Richard, on whose death childless it would revert to Mansell, or Lucy may have had a brother or nephew, on whose decease her grandson inherited the whole Scurlage estate. However this may be, the Inquisition must be allowed to prove the descent, although the precise manner of it be not recorded.

Sir William Stradlyng, the seneschal of Gower, was of St. Donats; he is said to have gone pilgrim to Jerusalem in 9 Henry IV, eight years later, and he married Isabel St. Barbe. As he was knighted and a public officer at the time of the Inquisition, his father Sir Edward was probably dead.

The family of Scurlage are reputed to descend from an ancestor who settled in Gower, where he held the manor known as Scurlage Castle, and lands in Llangewydd and Kilycum. His son, Sir Herbert Scurlage, is said to have been employed by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, against the Welsh, and to have held the lands and built the house of Trecastle, also called Scurlage Castle, near Llantrissant, long afterwards the seat of the Gibbons. Herbert was father of Sir David, he of Henry, and Henry of Philip Scurlage of Gower, who married Margaret or Mariota, daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Stackpole, and was father of Lucy, who married Richard Mansell of Penrice, father of Sir Hugh.

A branch of the family sometimes called Scurlock, settled in Ireland, and others appear in Carmarthen and Pembroke.

COPY OF A RECORD IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
ENTITLED "WALLIA MISCELLANEOUS BAG, NO. 23."

(Late in the Treasury of the Exchequer.)

*"Articles ageynst Officers of Glamorga' & Morgannok in
South Wales.*

"It'm oone Howel ap Jev'n Goche of Ystrade com'itted felonie & Morgan Mathew beyng offic' ther made his fyne for xx*li*. the whiche money y^e seid Howel & his frendes payd to y^e hands of y^e said offic' y^e xxijth yere of o'r.....lord y^e Kyng [Henry VIII] y^e now is & nothyng accompted nor auns'ed y^e of to y^e Kyng use, wherfor y^e seid Morgan owght to be co'pellyd to pay y^e seid xx*li*. but also to be punysched for his co'eilement & falsehode beside.

"It'm Ll'n ap Howell Monten is sonne of Ystrade foreseid co'mitted also felonie & y^e seid Morgan Mathew toke off hym for his fyne x*li*. y^e seid xxijth yere & nothyng y^e of auns'ed to y^e Kyng use.

"It'm oone Gitto Thom's ap Griffithe of Mery' made his fyne for felonie w^t y^e seid Morgan for x*li*. & payd it to hym & he hathe kept it to his owne use & auns'ed y^e Kyng nothyng y^e off.

"It'm y^e xxiiijth yere of o'r sov'eynge lorde, y^e seid Morgan Mathew beyng cronar of y^e schire ther, beyng an office acco'ptable was bownde in reconisunce of a *cli*. to y^e Kyng to execute his office duelie & trulie & this notw'stondyng wher as Griffith Thom's Lloid & Griffithe had co'mitted felonie y^e seid Morgan Mathew reseived of y^e seid Griffithe Thom's Lloid for his fyne vj*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*. & of y^e seid Griffithe ap Richard for his fyne iij*li*. ...s. ...d. and nothyng auns'ed y^e of to y^e Kyng use, but falselie hathe embeseled it to his owne behove & Nicholas Will'ms, wherfor he oght not onlie be co'pelled to pay y^e seid x*li*. but also y^e *cli*. forfeited to y^e Kyng for his untru acco'pte & executyng of his office.

"It'm as y^e seid Morga' y^e seid xxiiijth yere was cronar & bownde as is before rehersed in a *cli*. to y^e Kyng for y^e trew executyng off his office, & oone Phelippe Locher beyng his underbailie & bownd to y^e Kyng in xx*li*. to execute his office trulie, y^e was oone Will'm a wever of Newton Notashe y^e lost his app'aunce of v*li*. & y^e sewrties of y^e seid Will'm agreed w^t y^e seid Morga' & felippe for xxvjs. viij*d*. y^e whiche su' was paid to them bothe & noying auns'ed y^e of to y^e kyng, wherfor y^e seid Morga' & felippe oght not onlie to be co'pelled to pay

y^e seid *vli.* so embeseled but also y^e *vj* score *li.* bi yem forfeited to y^e Kyng for y^e untrew acco'pte & false executyng of y^e office.

"It'm y^e *xx*^u yere of o'r sov'eigne lorde, Thome Traharen of Aberdare & Thome Bache of Glynrotheney were hanged for felonie, whose goods were valued bi y^e homage at *vli.* y^e is to say y^e goods of Thome Traharen *iiijli.* *vjs.* *viiijd.* & y^e goods of Thome Bache at *ijli.* *xiijs.* *iiijd.* the whiche money was paid to y^e hands of Morga' Mathewe forseid beyng lieuten'nt then off y^e seid lordshippe & nothyng y^e of auns'ed to y^e Kynge behove wherfor y^e seid Morga' oght as well to be co'pelled to pay y^e seid *vli.* as also to be punysched for his false concilyng y^e of.

"It'm wher as oone Li'n ap Griffith was hanged for felonie at Kynfige y^e *xxiiij*^u yere of o'r seid sov'eing lord, whose goodes was well knowen to be above *xxli.* in valeu, Nicholas Will'ms beyng not onlie steward y^e but also y^e Kynge attorney his emprovo' & surveio' toke all this goods to his owne behove & auns'ed y^e Kyng y^e of but *vli.* wherfor he oght not onlie be co'pelled to pay al y^e residue y^e of but also to be punysched for his false & subtile embeslyng of y^e same.

"It'm wher oone Will'm John Mathew had lost *vli.* for his no' app'aunce, y^e sewrties of y^e seid Will'm agreed w^h y^e seid Nicholas Will'ms & oone Cristoffer Flemmyng for *xxs.* y^e residue to be forgiven, y^e whiche money was payd to y^e hands of y^e seid Cristoffer Flemmyng bi y^e assent of y^e seid Nicholas Will'ms & noying y^e of auns'ed to y^e Kynge use, wherfor y^e seid Nicholas & Cristoffer oght as well to pay y^e seid *vli.* to y^e Kynge behove as also to be punysched for y^e fals co'cilements in y^e behalf.

"It'm wher as oone Lawrence Will'ms is deputie recorder & cowrte clerke of all y^e seid schire & me'bers & is p'vie and knowlegyng of all fynes, am'ciam'tts, forfeitts & oy' casualties y^e happenyth in y^e same & oght by reson of his seid office to enter ev'y p'cell y^e of in his bokes & dilyv' a trew view y^e of yerlie to y^e Kyngs awditors at tyme of y^e awdite, y^e seid Lawrence knowyng p'fitelie of all y^e forseid fynes & forfeittes conciled w^h moche more dyd not deliv' y^e trew view y^e of to y^e Kyngs awditor nor make hym p'vie y^e of, but made a false strete makyng no mencion of this casualties & deliv'yd it to y^e seid awditors as thoghe y^e had ben no more dew to y^e Kyng yen was y'in specified & y'us hay'e he alweis used to do y'is *xij* yere y^e he hay'e ben y^e recorder to make *ij.* sortes of stretts y^e oone alweis accordyng to y^e verie dew by y^e whiche stretts y^e baillyves do gey' & levie y^e same casualties of them y^e it is assessed upo' & at tyme of awdite as it is befor seid he maketh stretts co'teynyng lesse & fewer sum'es as it is agreed betwyne

hym & y^e stewarde & his lieuten'ntts & acco'pteth to y^e awditors accordyng to y^e same strette of small rekenyngs & y^e ov'plus lefft owt y^e of y^e seid Lawrence & y^e officers seid do devyde amongst them to y^e il example of all oy' y^e Kyngs officers & to y^e Kyngs grette damage & disceite in his casualties alweis.

"It'm also wher oone Kateryn Nerber solde y^e mano' of Castelton to S'r James Tirell & levied a fyne to hym y^e of in y^e schire of Carediffe in Glamorgan' y^e oone p'te of whiche fyne remayned ended of recorde in y^e Kyngs Exchequer of Care-diffe, the seid Lawrence Will'ms beyng deputie recorder y^e dyd falselie receive & take xxs. in money off oone Howell Adam p'tendyng clayme to y^e seid mano' for stelyng of y^e seid fyne of recorde owt of y^e Kyngs Exchequer, & for y^e seid xxs. y^e seid Lawrence abowt y^e xxth yere of y^e reigne of o'r sov'eigne lorde y't now is dyd steale y^e seid recorde & deliv'yd it to y^e seid Howell Adam as it wilbe p'ved to y^e evill and p'ilous example y't efft hath ben seen & to y^e losse & damage like to ensew as well to y^e Kynge grace as to his pore subjects y^e iff remedie in y't behalf y^e soner be not p'vided.

"It'm wher as y^e seid Lawrence did accuse certeyn p'sons in y^e Court of Kynfge for brekyng of a forbode wherbie y^el scholde have forfeited iijl. jd. to y^e Kyng after y't y^e stewarde had charged vj. men on y'r othes to enquire y^e of ageysnt y^e next cowrtt, at whiche tyme when y^e seid vj. men were redie to give a v'dicte y^e seid Lawrence beyng deputie recorder y^e had yen falselie chaunged y^e recorders & torned y^e seid accusen't in to an action off trespas & co'pelled y^e vj. men contrarie to y^e charge to give y^e v'dicte according to an action of trespas, bi y^e whiche falsehode & subtilitie y^e Kyng y^e lost iijl. jd. y't y^e seid p'sons accused schold have ben co'de'pned yn yf y^e vj. men had ben suffred to a gevyn y^e v'dicte accordyng to y^e accusation y't yei were charged of."

Indorsed, "Articles ayenst the officers of Glamorgan and Morganock in South Wales."

It is evident that this record belongs to the reign of Henry VIII.

Morgan Mathew was probably the first of St. y Nill, and second son of Robert Mathew of Castell-y-Mynach by Margaret Powell. If so he married Sybil, daughter of William Kemeys of Newport, and his second son James was the first of the Roos and Aberaman branch.

Philip Lougher, as the name is spelt, was probably fourth son of Richard Lougher, living 1472, of Tytheg-

parishes of Llandewy, Llangonyth, Rossilly, Penrice, Knoyleston, Llanridian, and in the town of Swanzey and elsewhere in the said county of Glamorgan. To have and to hold all and singular my said manors, etc. . . . unto my said son Edward Mansell and his heirs and assigns for ever, to the several uses, etc. . . . hereinafter following, that is to say, to the use . . . of Edward Mansell for life, remainder to his eldest son by Margaret his now wife, and heirs of the body of such first son . . . remainder to second . . . third . . . fourth . . . fifth and sixth son . . . failing such to use . . . of all other sons and heirs, etc. In case of death of Edward Mansell, and prospect of posthumous child by Margaret, to her use till its birth or her death, which shall first happen, to preserve contingent remainders; if it be a son to him and his sons lawfully begotten; remainder to sons of Edward Mansell by any other wife; remainder to testator's granddaughter, Martha Mansell, infant, and heirs of her body; remainder to every other one of the daughters of Edward and Margaret, and heirs of body in succession; remainder to heirs of body of said Edward Mansell; remainder to testator's brother Thomas Mansell, Esq., and heirs of body; remainder to Thomas Mansell of Margam, Esq., and heirs male of body; remainder to Thomas Mansell of Briton Ferry, Esq., grandson of Bussy M. of B.F., and heirs male; remainder to Edward Mansell of Trimsaran, Esq., and heirs male of body; remainder to right heirs of testator, chargeable with £2000 to be divided among younger children of Edward Mansell, the son, according to indenture of 9 Nov., 34 Ch. ii, 1682, made between (1) Testator and Anne his wife; (2) Edward M., the son, and Margaret Ducke, his wife; (3) Sir Edward M. Bt., and Thomas M., his son and heir, Richard Ducke, and Hugh Vaughan, Esquires. Should Martha inherit, she not to share in the £2000.

Testator has a judgment of Court against Thomas Earl of Berkshire for £3000, of which he gives £2000 to Martha M., and £1000 to his son Edward M., to whom he gives also £700 due from Sir Richard Baker, of co. Oxon, kt., also all awards of fee farm rents due from James Earl of Newburg, Charles E. of Newburg, Sir H. Poole, kt., and Dame Ann, his wife.

Also to his sister Hannah Williams, widow, £5; to niece Dorothy Tanner, widow, £5; Elinir and Elizabeth, daughters of D. T., £5; to kinsman Dr. Robert Meller of Swanzey, £20; to Charles, son of George Bower of Kittle Hill, £10; to testator's servant, Thomazin Morgan, £5; to servant Thomas

Wittey, 50s.; to my clerk, Pauncefort Wall, £5, and testator's son Edward is to aid him in regaining the Manor of Shellwick, co. Hereford; to David Thomas, servant of testator's son Edward, 40s.; to Jane Davies, the nurse, 60s.; to goddaughter Mary Jenkin, daughter of David Jenkin of Llanridian, deceased, 40s.; to Elizabeth, Anne, Margaret, Jonett, and Catherine, the other daughters of said David Jenkin, 40s.; to poor of Swanzey town, £5, of Llanridian, £5, of Penrice, 50s., of Llandewy, 50s.; to William Seyes, Esq., Alexander Trotter, Esq., and Robert Breholt, attorney-at-law, all of Swanzey, to each a gold mourning ring of 40s. value.

Residue of personal estate to granddaughter Martha M., infant, who is sole executrix.

Stamp, sixpence.

Signed, E. MANSELL.

Seal, a chevron between 3 manches, on the chevron a mullet cadency. Crest, a bird rising.

Witness.—Wm. Seys, Alex. Trotter, Robt. Breholt.

Edward Mansell, the testator, represented a branch of the Mansells of Margam not to be found in the usual pedigrees of that family.

Thomas, whose name appears among his remainder men, was son and heir of Sir Edward Mansell of Margam, third baronet. Thomas, of Briton Ferry, was son of Thomas, son of Thomas, son of Bussy, son of Arthur Mansell of Briton Ferry, who was fourth son of Sir Thomas Mansell of Margam.

G. T. C.

THE HOLED STONES OF CORNWALL.

THE "holed stones" of Cornwall are slabs of granite, varying in size and form, each pierced by a hole; in some instances twenty-six inches in diameter, in others no more than two or three inches. The holes do not always occupy the same position: sometimes they are found near the centre of the stone, sometimes near the edge.

Though the greater number of these curious monuments remain near the sites of their discovery, in the vicinity of barrows and circles of stone, one only appears not to have been moved from its original position; this is the *Mên-an-tol* figured by Dr. Borlase. It is situated on Aguidal Down, in the parish of Madron, between the inscribed stone known as the "*Mên-Sryfa*" and the stone-circle and barrows of Boskednan,—perhaps about a furlong from each; whilst the cromlechs of Lanyon are at no great distance. The holed stone is 3 feet 6 inches high by 4 ft. 3 ins. wide. The hole on one side measures 26 ins. in diameter, on the other 19 ins. only; and it is but a few inches above the ground. The bevel, or splay, may be the result of design, or is probably owing to the stone being worked on one side only by a rude instrument. This stone stands between two blocks of granite, at the distance of 7 ft. 10 ins. from one, and 7 ft. 8 ins. from the other. Their height respectively is 3 ft. 10 ins. and 4 ft. 2 ins.; and, when taking an easterly or westerly view, it will be seen that they incline, one to the right, the other to the left, as shewn by the accompanying illustration. At the base of the westernmost block lies the stone (A in plan) which Dr. Borlase speaks of as the "cushion or pillow." Twenty-one feet to the north-west is another prostrate stone (B), and six feet from it an upright block (C) 3 ft. 4 ins. high. From the positions of these stones it seems probable that they are the remains of a circle.

● C

● B



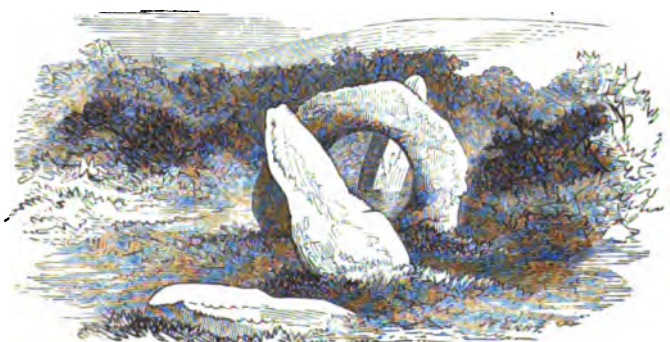
MEN-AN-TOL

0 5 10 15 20 25 FEET

Plan.

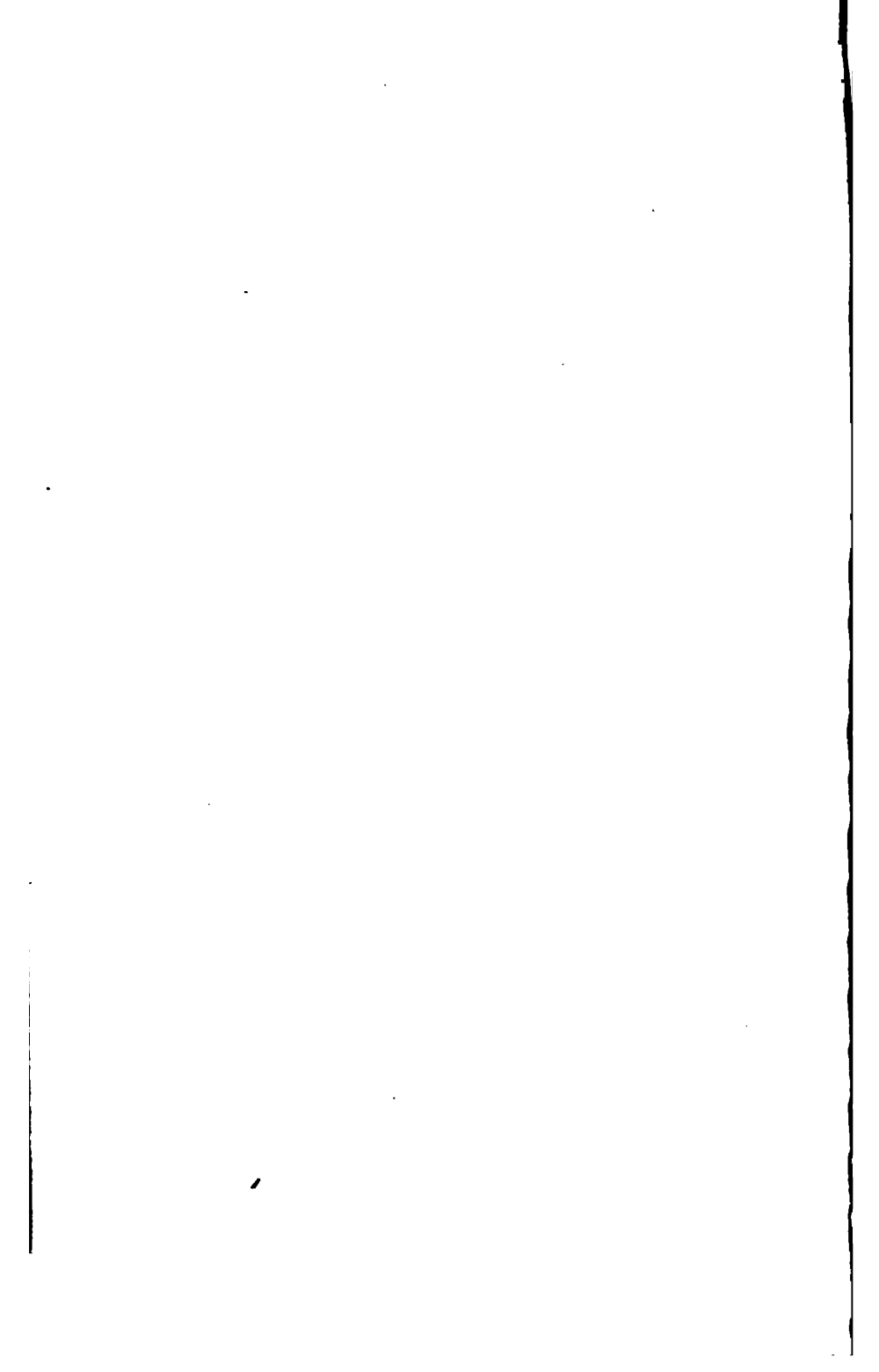


North-west View.



West View.

MEN-AN TOL, MADRON.



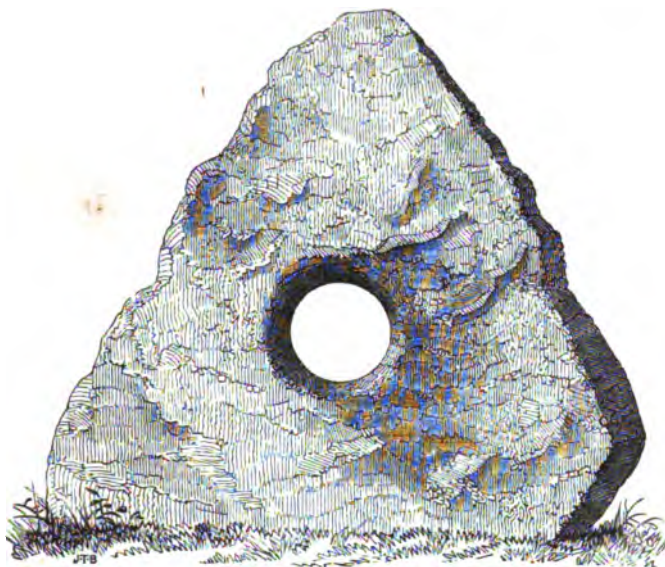
The Tolven, in the parish of S. Constantine, is the largest holed stone in Cornwall, measuring 8 ft. 6 ins. high by 8 ft. 11 ins. wide at the base, whence it diminishes to a point at the summit. The hole, nearly circular, is 17 ins. in diameter, and bevelled on each side. The stone has an average thickness of one foot ; but it is somewhat thicker at the bottom than at the top. A few years ago a person digging close to the Tolven discovered a pit, in which were fragments of pottery arranged in circular order, and the whole covered with a flat slab. Imagining he had disturbed some mysterious or sacred spot, he immediately filled in the pit again. Although this stone stands very near its original site, it was, some years ago, set upright, having long been in a reclining position. About eighty yards distant are the remains of a barrow twenty yards in diameter, and studded with small mounds, each probably a separate grave.

Whatever may have been the original purpose of the Mên-an-tol and the Tolven, they have, in modern times, continued to be used in the observance of a superstitious practice. Dr. Borlase alludes to the custom of the passing of children through the Mên-an-tol to cure them of weakness or pains in the back ; and a like practice, which I have described in the *Reports* of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, has been, and probably is still, observed at the Tolven ; where the ceremony consisted of passing the child nine times through the hole, alternately from one side to the other ; and it was considered essential to success that the operation should finish on that side wheré there is a low grassy mound, on which the patient was laid to sleep with a sixpence under his head. A trough-like stone, called the "Cradle," on the eastern side of the large barrow before mentioned, was formerly used for this purpose ; but unfortunately it has long since been destroyed. A custom of this kind is observed near the Holy Well in the parish of S. Cuthbert. Adjoining the well is a sort of fissure or hole formed by the natural relations of two rocks, and through

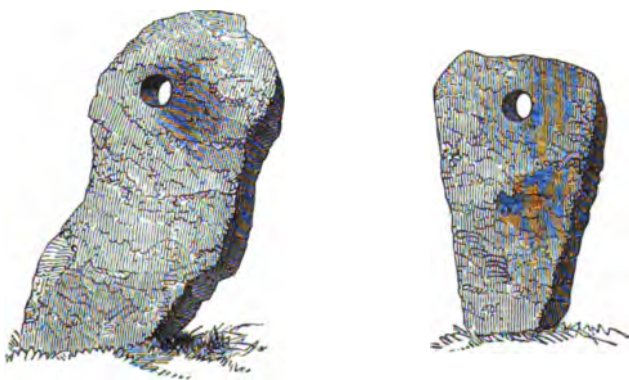
this opening it would appear that children are passed with the same expectation of benefit as in the case of the artificially holed stones. There is a fair on the beach at Holy Well on Ascension Day, and generally on that day children are brought to be subjected to this curious operation. This passing through holed stones was also supposed to act as a charm against witchcraft ; and to creep through the "Devil's Eye," as the *Mên-an-tol* was sometimes called by the people, was to counteract the effects of ill-wishing. Dr. Wilson, in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, has referred to Anglo-Saxon laws prohibiting the observance of ceremonies of a similar character.

The other stones which I have to notice differ from those already described, in that the holes are much smaller, none being more than six inches in diameter. Two monuments of this kind may be seen at Rosemoddress, in the parish of S. Burian, near the circle of stones known as the "Dawns Myin." One, now used as a gate-post, measures 6 ft. high, 2 ft. 7 ins. in breadth, and 9 ins. thick. The hole, 1 ft. 2 ins. from the upper edge, is 6 ins. in diameter. The other stone, now serving to block a gap in a hedge, is 4 ft. 8 ins. in length, and diminishes from 2 ft. 9 ins. to 10 ins. in breadth : it is 10 ins. thick. The hole, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, is $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. from the edge of the broader end. The holes through both these stones are sharply cut. Dr. Borlase suggests that they were used for binding victims.

The holed stones near the stone-circles and barrows at Tregaseal, in the parish of S. Just, are noticed in Buller's *Account of the Parish of S. Just*. They are about fifty yards from the remains of two large barrows popularly called the "Giants' Graves," and a furlong from the Tregaseal circles. They lie in a line nearly east and west. The westernmost, 4 ft. 9 ins. in length by 2 ft. 8 ins. in breadth, tapers towards each end. It is 14 ins. thick ; and the hole, in the broadest part of the stone, is only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter, but has a splay of 7 ins. The second measures 4 ft. 7 ins. in length by

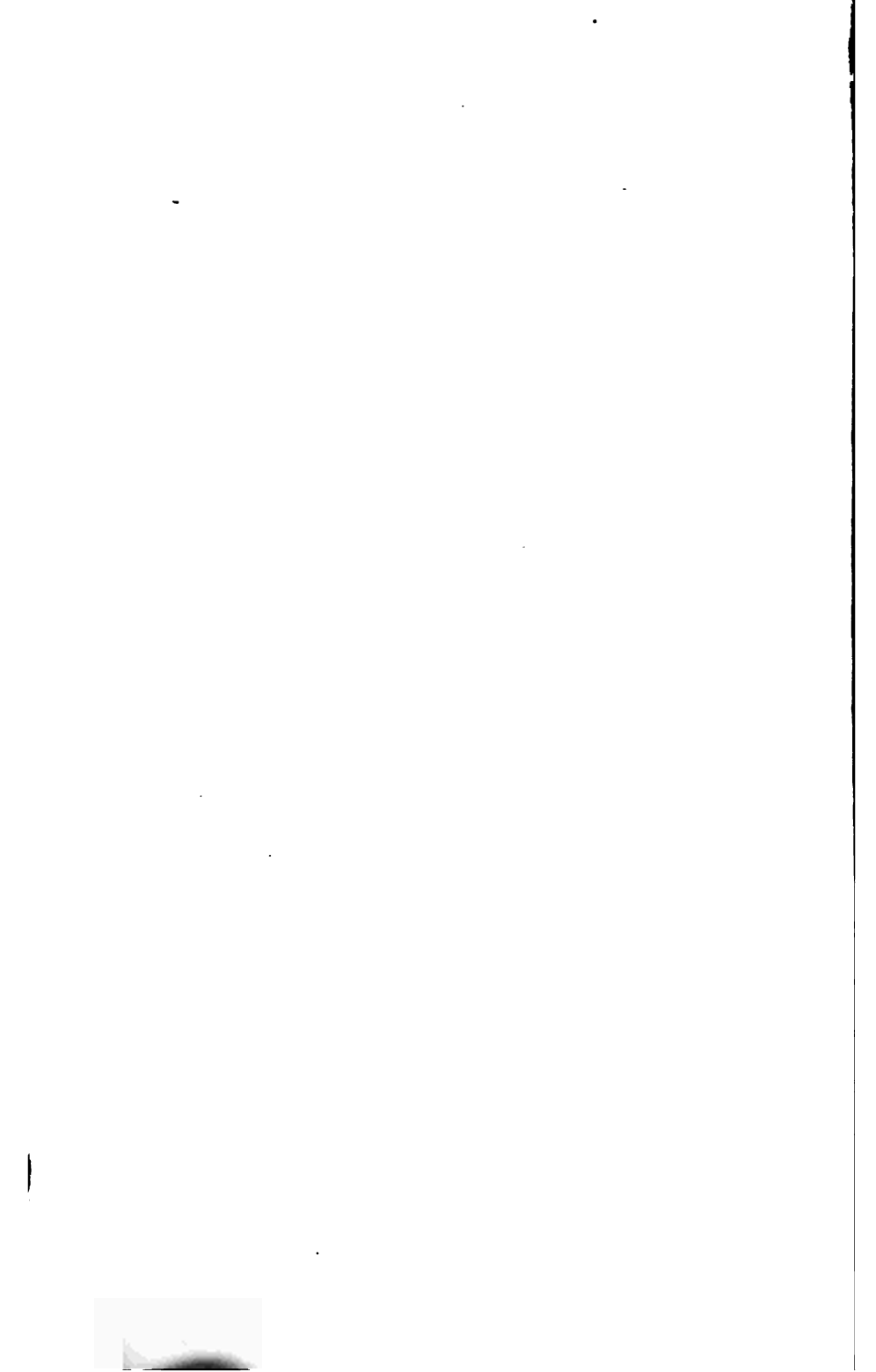


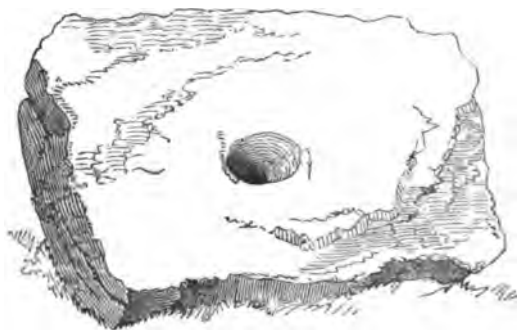
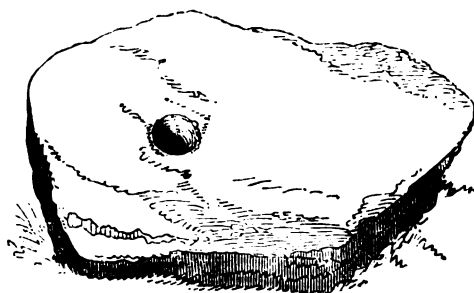
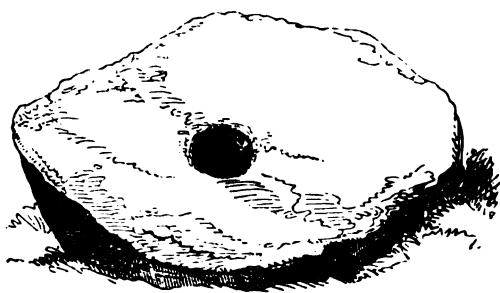
THE TOLVEN, S. CONSTANTINE.



ROSEMODDRESS, S. BURIAN.

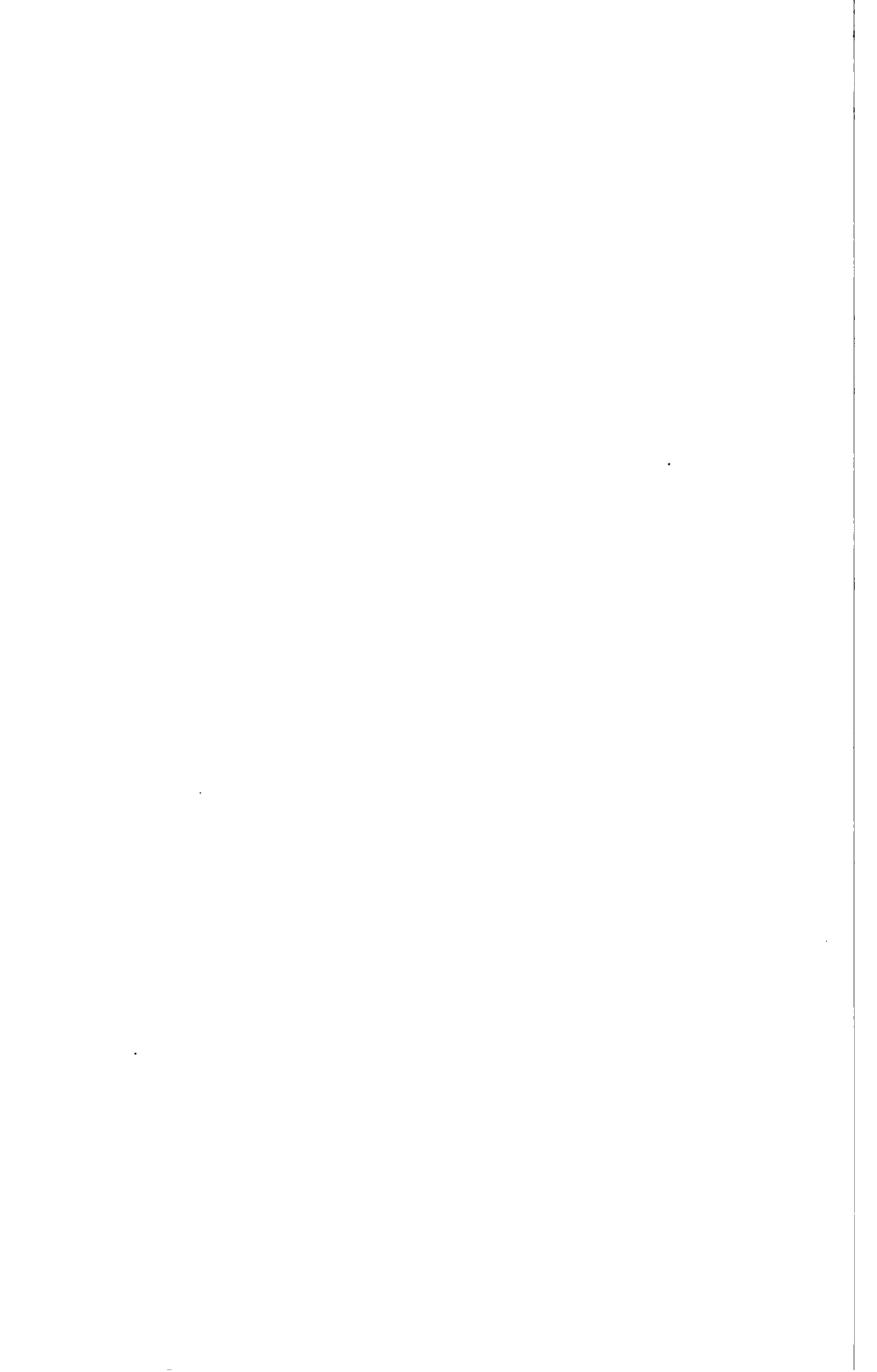
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to 1 foot.





HOLED STONES NEAR THE TREGASEAL CIRCLES, S. JUST.

Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 1 foot.



2 ft. 8 ins. in breadth, and is 15 ins. thick. The hole, nearer one end, has a diameter of 3 ins. and a splay of 6 ins. These two stones are 9 ft. apart. Eight yards from the latter is the half of another. The stone has been broken through the hole; the part left measuring 3 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft. 8 ins., and 7 ins. thick. At the distance of 6 ft. lies the fourth, of a squarer form than the others; the sides measuring respectively 4 ft. 8 ins., 3 ft. 6 ins., 3 ft. 6 ins., and 2 ft. 10 ins. It is 1 ft. thick; the hole 3 ins. in diameter, and, with a splay of 10 ins., occupies a more central position. These are the four stones mentioned by Mr. Buller. About a hundred yards north of these I recently discovered a fifth, broken in two, but the parts lying together. It is smaller than those described above, measuring only 2 ft. 7 ins. by 1 ft. 8 ins., with a hole about 3 ins. diameter. The holes in all these stones are very rudely formed. It is evident, from the great breadth and irregularity of the splays in comparison with the smallness of the holes, that they were beaten through with clumsy instruments.

Near a house about half a mile from the Tregaseal Circles I found a block of stone 1 ft. 3 ins. thick, through which a hole had been commenced, but never finished.



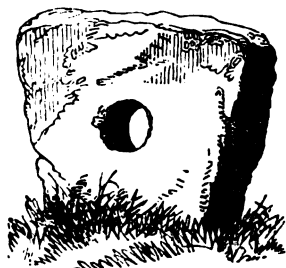
Broken Holed Stone near the Tregaseal Circles.

It was cut in to the depth of 7 ins. on one side, and 3 ins. on the other; but as they did not run in a straight line, the workman had probably discovered his error, and abandoned the work.

In a croft between Boscaswell and Pendeen Church is a circular stone 2 ft. 8 ins. in diameter, with a hole

6 ins. in diameter in its centre. This may be akin to those already described.

In the Vicarage garden, S. Just, is a holed stone 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, 2 ft. high, 8 ins. thick, and with a hole 6 ins. in diameter. It was brought by the late Mr. Buller from near the site of the very remarkable intersecting circles at Botallack, now destroyed; but of which a plan is given in Dr. Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, plate XIV.



Vicarage Garden, S. Just.

From the fact of all these stones being found near barrows and circles, it may fairly be concluded that they are of a sepulchral character; and in connexion with this subject, it may be worth while to call attention to



Trevethy Cromlech.

the great cromlech of Trevethy, near Liskeard; the covering stone of which is, in like manner, pierced by a circular hole about 6 ins. in diameter.

Besides the holed stones described above there are others in Cornwall known by the name of "tolmens"; such as the great tolmen at S. Constantine, figured by Borlase, *Antiquities of Cornwall*, plate xi, and others at Scilly; but as the holes under or through these rocks are the result of natural formation they cannot be classed with those artificially pierced. It may be stated, however, that they have been used in the observance of the superstitious practices already referred to.

These curious monuments seem to have no counterparts in Wales, though stones similarly perforated are found in Britany, Scotland, and Ireland. For the following description and accompanying illustration I am



The Gavrynys Stone.

indebted to the Rev. E. L. Barnwell: "In one of the head-stones of the Gavrynys Chamber, in Britany, are three holes in a horizontal line, the edges of which have a high polish. This may have been effected in the piercing of the holes, which are slightly countersunk.

A large arm can be inserted in each of them with ease ; and it has been suggested that the polish is caused by the arms of victims bound. As, however, the chamber was always closed, and remained undiscovered until the beginning of this century, this suggestion is inadmissible. Beyond the stone is evidently another chamber, not yet explored, for a long pole being inserted shews that there is a vacant space. As, however, the chamber is still covered with its original tumulus of earth, no entrance has yet been made to this interior chamber. 'These holes may have been intended as communication between two chambers, but for what particular object it is not easy to surmise. The stone, like all the rest in the chamber and gallery, is covered with a rude kind of ornament, suggestive of the New Zealander tattooing.' It may here be remarked that, in no case is ornamentation of any kind found on the Cornish holed stones.

Mr. W. T. McCulloch kindly supplies the subjoined note on holed stones in Scotland : "There are several examples of perforated stones in Scotland,—one is at Applecross in Ross-shire, and is in the centre of a circle of standing stones ; another is at Formore in the island of Arran, and forms one of a double circle. According to tradition, to it Fingal was wont to tie his dog Bran. The third is at Onich in Balachulish, Inverness-shire. It is called "the stone of vengeance," and has two holes. It is about 7 ft. above the ground. There was another at the Loch of Stennis in Orkney, near to two stone circles. It was 8 ft. high, 3 broad, and 9 ins. thick ; but as a dyke was of more consequence to the proprietor, the hoary relic perished."

Of holed stones in Ireland, Mr. John Windle writes : "I have seen *holed stones* at Kilmelchedor (Ogham inscribed) ; one at the Boggera Mountains, Cork ; one at Ballimanna, Cork ; one at Moy Tura in Sligo ; and I have read of one in Carlow."

It would be desirable to procure a complete list of holed stones of this character, known to exist in different parts of the kingdom, as well as of those in Bri-

tany ; and by accurate drawings, and notes on the positions in which they were discovered, some clue may be afforded as to the purposes for which they were intended.

J. T. BLIGHT.

Penzance. June 1864.

CAERAU IN THE PARISH OF ST. DOGMELLS.

MY object in writing this paper is to jot down a few particulars with reference to certain places in this parish not visited by the Archæological Association during the Meeting at Cardigan in August 1859.

At the western extremity of this parish, about two miles and a half from the village, on the brow of a hill overlooking the village of Moilgrove, in a field called "Park y gaer," on the farm of Penallt ceibwr, is a curious earthwork called "Caerau," and marked in the Ordnance Map, "Castell." It consists of three concentric, circular embankments within and above each other, at intervals of about twenty yards ; with an elevation in the second of two feet, and in the third, or innermost, of four feet. The prospect here is exceedingly extensive, and the position very commanding. What might have been the original height of the embankments, it is now impossible to determine, as they have been levelled, and the whole of the ground ploughed over. The lines of the fortifications, broken here and there, are marked by gorse and rubbish. There are, however, some men living who remember these embankments much higher than they are at present ; particularly the innermost agger, which on the seaward side was about ten feet.

There is no vestige of fosse or wall, which were probably filled up with earth when the great levelling process took place, about the latter part of the last century. This earthwork might have been a British fortress erected to repel the northern invaders whom the little

creek of Ceibwr might have invited to land on the coast. Most of the encampments along the coast are by some supposed to have been erected by the Danes, or other invaders, as retreats whither they might betake themselves if, in their raids to the country, they should be worsted by the natives, and where they might keep their booty until they were ready to re-embark for their native homes. But this could not have been the case with Caerau, where the defences were seaward; while the eastern or landward side appears to have been almost defenceless, for the aggers were considerably lower towards the land, and the elevation above the earthwork would give vantage-ground to an enemy approaching from the interior. The outer or lower line of rampart occupied an area of six acres, while the inner or upper line was reduced to one half. Parts of the lower embankment, to the north, may be seen in the hedge cutting the road leading to Moilgrove.

About two hundred yards to the west of Caerau was a square stone building called "Caerau Bach," which might have been an out-post between Caerau and the sea. A little below Caerau Bach were found, about the latter part of the last century, seven urns, of which no description can be given, nor have I been able to ascertain what became of them. A little to the east of Caerau, a ploughman says that many years ago, while ploughing, he discovered a stone, which he supposed to be the keystone of an arch, under which was a hollow, into which he put the handle of his whip, and let it down by the lash to a depth of fifteen feet before finding the bottom. As the man spoke so positively, that he knew the exact spot, I took him there; and, after spending a great portion of a morning in digging, assisted by a labourer kindly furnished us by the occupier of the farm, no hole was discovered. The ground under the pickaxe gave a hollow sound; the grass is also unusually rank, and the soil seems to be composed of charred wood and some dark substance not unlike decomposed animal matter. I told the man that if he was inclined

to enter into a little speculation, I would give him £1 if he found the spot or nothing. He went there on the following day, but his labours were attended with the like success. I am told there is a gutter about fifteen inches square, somewhere near the spot. This, after the period of thirty-five years, has been probably magnified in the poor man's imagination to so many feet.

In writing a description of Caerau, I am not troubled with embarrassment of matter, for I have never seen a description of it in print or manuscript. Fenton speaks of the monks of Caerau, but he evidently was not there. He describes several places in the neighbourhood, but takes not the slightest notice of Caerau: indeed, he mistakes Monachlog, on the banks of the Tivy, for Caerau. How he got at the name of Caerau at all, unless it was through George Owen, I have no idea. Whatever might be said of Caerau, it certainly has not been vulgarized by tourists, who generally keep more inland in travelling through North Pembrokeshire. Most fortified places in this country have attached to them certain traditions anent some bloody battle having been fought at or near the spot; but Caerau, although rife with traditions, has nothing of the kind. The only invasion of Ceibwr (adjoining Caerau) on record took place upwards of thirty-five years ago. It was a French invasion more disastrous than that of Pencaer some thirty years before, and effected what the first Napoleon with his grand army was never able to do; for it conquered, within the distance of twenty or thirty miles, a vast number of the British, and kept them in subjection for about five years. The enemy, in this instance, was not a Frenchman, but French brandy, Cherbourg cognac, a contraband trade in which was carried on at Ceibwr.

On the other side of the road leading to Moilgrove is a field called "Waun Caradog" (the moor of Caractacus), where a fine quern was found. What Caractacus had to do with this spot, I know not. Further on is a field called "Park y ffynnon," from a fine well which it con-

tains, and which probably might have supplied the garrison with water.

My attention has been lately directed to Caerau by a stone coffin enclosure found in the space between the second and third lines of fortification on the east, in what appears to have been an old cemetery extending to the east, north, and south of the earthwork ; which seems to give further proof that the defences were intended against attacks from the sea. In this place, called variously " Llain yr Eglwys," " Y Fynwent," " Yr Eglwys ddiflodan" (the flowerless church,—a suitable name for a monastic institution where no ladies were admitted), several graves have been found during the last seventy years. In one of them was a hammer and cutlass ; in another a fragment of bone, which might have been human ; in another the figure T grooved in the mould, and filled up with the scorixæ of the smithy ; and in all, five white pebbles of pure quartz, taken evidently from the sea-shore, of the size of a small apple.¹ These graves seem to have been all of the same type, from the materials scattered around the field, consisting of fragments of slate, white pebbles, etc. In ploughing the field last spring something white was turned up by the plough, which the ploughman mistook for a piece of lime ; but the lad who drove the plough took it up, and found it to be a human tooth. This led to further examination, and about fourteen inches below the surface they came to a coarse stone coffin of the rudest formation, consisting of five untrimmed slate stones about an inch thick in the middle, and tapering to a thin, jagged edge ; one at the head, two on each side, both of which had two small grey rubble stones at the foot, probably to make out the length. It had neither lid, nor bottom, nor footstone, and gives one the idea of a warrior buried hastily on the battle-field ; but this could hardly have been the case, for the place was evidently a cemetery. This stone inclosure, now covered

¹ Could these pebbles have been intended to act as a kind of charm ?

in, is of the following dimensions: length, six feet seven inches; width at the widest part, one foot eleven inches; width at the head and foot, eleven inches; depth, eleven inches; lying from north-west to south-east, and probably intended to face the east. How singular that, after the lapse of so many ages, when many a magnificent mausoleum and stately monument have disappeared, this coffin, rudely, flimsily, and hastily got up from materials found at or near the spot, should still remain! It probably owes its preservation to its insignificance and the isolation of its resting-place. The only thing indicating anything like care was the fine yellow mould with which the coffin was filled, which differed widely from the coarse, stony earth by which it was surrounded. At the head were found a small portion of the skull, which turned to dust the moment it was touched, fifteen small pieces of calcined bone, and eight human teeth (six molars and two canine teeth), in a state of more or less perfection. One of the canine teeth, now in my possession, is covered with enamel, and bears no symptoms of decay except in the root. A medical gentleman thinks that the teeth belonged to a young man about thirty years of age, and that the yellow mould is the decomposed state of the body. How the teeth could have been preserved will ever be a mystery. There were also found there a piece of crystal and five white pebbles, like those already described.¹ The pieces of bone are, from their contiguity to the teeth, supposed to have been part of the jaw. Of its date I can form no idea. It is certainly not so old as the age attributed to the jaw found in Moulin Quignon in April 1863, supposed to have belonged to a man who existed some thousands of years before Adam (?). Whatever difference there might be between the jawbone with its one molar, found in Moulin Quignon, and the fragments of jaw (if such they be) and the eight teeth found at Cae-

¹ Yellow clay was found in one of the barrows of the Castle Howard tumuli lately opened.

rau, it is certain that the Caerau jaw was not found in a gravel drift on which MM. Quatrefages, Milne-Edwards, Falconer, Prestwich, Carpenter, etc., can exercise their ingenuity; but in fine, pure, yellow mould. It is also evident that it never wagged with the mastodon, breakfasted on beef of the *bos longifrons*, dined on hyæna-steaks, or supped on cave-bear, or mistook the crustacean pleiocene or miocene for lobster-salad, or was acquainted with *homo primogenitus*; nor is it certain that it ever heard of the megatheria and the great saurian tribes. But it certainly is not a recent jaw brought from any grave "to hoax the *virtuosi*."

The owner of the jaw and teeth might have been a monk, for tradition says that there was once here a monastic establishment; and it is not impossible but that it might be the Religious House of Llandudoch, destroyed by the Danes A.D. 987. In speaking of the monks of Caerau, Fenton describes them as having been located at Monachlog, which is a mistake; for Monachlog is a cot in the grounds of Pantirion, the seat of R. D. Jenkins, Esq., overlooking the Tivy; and the names Pantirion, Tirion, "God's Acre," and Llain yr Arglwydd, on Esgyrn (bones) Land, as well as several monastic remains discovered near the said cot, seem to indicate that there must have been once a religious cell at or near the spot; but this could not have been Caerau. We read nothing of the kings of Caerau, knights of Caerau, or warriors of Caerau; but we have the monks of Caerau. A monk could fight well at a pinch, and in troublous times a monk not unfrequently exchanged the cowl for the helmet, and his religious vestments for armour of proof. Could the cutlass found in the grave referred to have belonged to a monk? But surely a fortress could scarcely have been a suitable abode for a company of non-combatants. If the field of Caerau was the site of the Religious House referred to as destroyed by the Danes in the tenth century, could not the monks have subsequently fortified the place against the incursions of the enemy? Tradition says that there is a sub-

terranean passage from Caerau to Castell Iôn (the lord's castle); perhaps another religious fortress, on the Pant-saison demesne, the property of J. T. W. James, Esq., whose ancestors have resided there a vast number of years; so that when the occupiers of Caerau were driven out of it, they might descend to Castell Iôn at the foot of the hill, and attack the enemy in the rear. If the monks of Caerau were Benedictines, they verified the old Latin distich:

“Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat;
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes”;

for they were perched on the brow of a high hill. Martin, as well as his monks, was a reformed Benedictine (a Bernardite); and in bringing (if he did so) the monks of Caerau into his new establishment, he lowered them as to place, if he did not reform them; at any rate they must have found a great change of climate in the winter.

There are two cottages on the south side of the earth-work, called Caerau and Penallt Esgob (the top of the bishop's hill). This I merely mention to shew that Caerau had something ecclesiastical about it. Near these cottages, on the south-east, was, within the memory of men now living, a wall of very superior masonry, about thirty feet long and nine feet high, which might have been a part of the monastery of Caerau.

Caerau is situate in the hamlet of Pantygroes (the valley of the cross). Where the cross was, it is difficult to say, unless it was at the cross-road hard by, called “Bwlch Pant y Groes,” where a lady in white was formerly seen at the witching hour of midnight, though it is said that Bwlch Pant y Groes is comparatively a modern name, and given to it when the new road was formed, the place before having been called “Iet Llain Rowland.” There must, however, have been a cross somewhere. Croes Bigog, where funerals coming from that part of the parish used formerly to stop, because, according to tradition, there the Abbey Cross first came to view (?)—a more probable reason for this custom is, that

it was once the site of a way-side cross—is in the hamlet of Abbey.

THE TRADITIONS OF CAERAU.

In the road near Caerau, and opposite the second embankment, is a hollow which rings when any wheeled vehicle goes over it. About eighty years ago two men had the curiosity to dig there, and they solemnly declared that they came to the frame of a doorway; but when they went to dinner, the rain descended, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and on their return the whole was closed, as they supposed by supernatural agency. A little above the place where they had been digging they affirmed that there had been no rain.

At Castell Iôn some stairs were seen, supposed to lead to some passage. A farmer's wife, about ninety years since, having risen very early one morning, was thus accosted by a woman bearing the semblance of a gipsy, "Would you like to take your rest of a morning instead of leaving your bed so early?" "Yes," was the reply. Then said the woman, "If you dig in a certain spot in the subterranean passage between Caerau and Castell Iôn, you will find what will make you the richest lady in the land."

About sixty years ago a respectable man declared that he was cutting a hedge between Trefâs and Pant y Groes when a grey-headed old man came to him, and told him that there was an underground way from Caerau to Pentre Evan; and that if he excavated a certain place he would find two hundred "murk" (? marks).

A woman once appeared to a ploughboy, and told him that there were ten murk under the threshold of Caerau Bach. When the cottage, which had been probably built on the site of the outpost referred to, was taken down, a number of people assembled to search for the marks, but none were found.

Tradition gives Castell Iôn a different derivation to the one given by me. It is said to have been the abode of one Iôan; but whether he was a saint or sinner is

not known. On one occasion it is said that, when pursued by the enemy, he crossed the stream, and left the impression of the hoof of his charger on a stone, which has something like the mark of a horse's shoe upon it.

Probably these traditions might be the ingenious produce of a tump hard by, called "Cnwc y Celwydd" (the tump of lies), where men and women were formerly in the habit of assembling on the Lord's Day in large masses, to disport themselves by inventing and telling the most lying and wonderful tales that their imagination could devise. Though this practice has been happily discontinued, and people now betake themselves to their respective places of worship, yet it is to be feared that falsehood has not yet left the neighbourhood: indeed, it would have been well for this village if the "father of lies" had left it, and travelled so far to the extremity of the parish as Cnwc y Celwydd. But, alas! such is not the case.

The old chronicler of Caerau, who used to say that he had been baptized by a vicar of St. Dogmells (dead since 1768), and who had spent almost all his lifetime on the farm of Penallt Ceibwr, was alive a few months ago. He told me that the whole neighbourhood was considered "fou." That men were led astray there all night, not knowing whither they went, until cock-crowing, when they discovered that they were not far from home. A man carrying a bundle of hoop-rods, in one of these midnight wanderings, dropped them one by one to ascertain the extent of his journey; and when he went after them in the morning, he found he had travelled an incredible number of miles. A St. Dogmells' fisherman having been at a wedding at Moilgrove, lost his bearings on his way home at night, and was for some hours not able to find his course, until at last he fortunately discovered the north pole, by which he sailed homewards. Some of these might have been under the influence of Tam O'Shanter's guide

"When glorious,
O'er all the ills of life victorious."

This, however, cannot be said of them all; for an old clerical friend of mine, of sober habits, had once the honour of joining in this magic dance for the great part of a night. All the land round about Caerau was once open and unenclosed, which may account, in some measure, for these vagaries. When a man in the dark loses every idea of the *terminus à quo*, he is not likely to arrive speedily at the *terminus ad quem*. A person in this parish told me that he one night heard groaning in the field where the lady used to appear, which frightened him so much that he was ill for several days. Could the groans have been caused by the disappearance of the lady, who, I believe, has not been seen for many years?

Let us now examine the surroundings of Caerau. About a mile to the right is Hendre, where there was once, no doubt, a fine mansion belonging to the Lloyds, who, like the Bowens of Llwyngwair, etc., were descendants of Gwynfardd and Cwhelyn, who might have founded the monastery of Caerau; for they were the *reguli* of the district, and had ever been great benefactors to the church, particularly Arcol Llaw Hir, whose grants are recorded in *Liber Landavensis*. The pedigree of the Lloyds is inserted in Lewis Dwnn. The founder of this family was Fylyp Lloyd of Hendref. Ieuan Lloyd, gentleman, married Mari, daughter of George Owen, Esq., lord of Kemes in 1613. Alban Lloyd married Elin, daughter of Sir John Perrot.¹ A branch of this family lived at Trevigin for many generations, as appears by the evidence produced in the great Selby cause. Some of them must have built the old church of Monington, which bore greater marks of antiquity than any church in this neighbourhood. A description of it, as well as some particulars connected with St. Dogmells, may be given in a future paper.

The Lloyds, after residing at Hendre for a vast number of years, removed to Cwmgloyn, where the male line

¹ Sir John Perrott owned lands in the immediate neighbourhood of Caerau at the time of his attainder.

became extinct by the death of Thomas Lloyd, Esq. The female line is now represented by M. W. Ll. Owen, Esq., of Cwmgloyn. "To William Lloyd, one of the family," writes Fenton, there was an indulgence granted by Pope Eugenius, A.D. 1442, 14th November, at the city of Florence, to have "*altare portabile ad missas et alia divina officia etiam ante diem et in locis interdictis celebranda.*" John Lloyd of Hendre was sheriff of Pembrokeshire in 1623.

A part of the old house, and what was probably an oratory attached thereto, have been converted into a cowhouse. The keystone of the arch of the doorway of the dwellinghouse is thus inscribed, T. LL. ESQ. 1744. c. w. The supposed oratory has no entrance from without. The door on the north-west, leading to it from the dwellinghouse, is not dissimilar to the door of what used to be called the Refectory in the Abbey of St. Dogmael's. On the south-west once stood an image, which was taken down when an opening was made in the wall at a place where the said image had long remained. It was exhibited at the Cardigan Arch. Meeting in 1859, and is now at Clynfiew, the seat of Major Lewis, the proprietor of Hendre. As it has been unfortunately removed from its original position, it is well that it is in a place where it will be properly taken care of, which would scarcely be the case if it had been permitted to rest loosely against the wall at Hendre. In the east was a small window, the size of which may now be traced. It was probably a doublet, its breadth being much greater than its length. The walls of this building are very strong, and partly built of sea-pebbles embedded in very hard mortar. It is 19 feet long, 15 feet 7 inches wide, 9 feet high; and, whatever it might have been, it certainly has the appearance of having been once a place devoted to religious worship.

In front of Caerau, on the right, is Castell Trerees, and on the left Castell Treriffith, both of which appear to have been strong Danish encampments. Here, were it not from a fear of overstepping strictly archæological

bounds, I might dilate on the unrivalled rock-scenery of Ceibwr (*cae bwr*, enclosed fortress), the medicinal properties of Alum Well, the curious configuration of Pwll y Wrach, the Witch's Cave, and the booming reverberation of the sea within it during a storm, illustrating the well-known Homeric phrase to perfection; and the precipitous crags of Treriffith Castle, which George Owen considered as resembling Tintagel Castle in Cornwall, associated with the memory of King Arthur.

To the left is Pant y Groes, in the parish of Moilgrove,—so called from having been once the site of the cross now at Treprisk, an illustration of which appeared in the *Arch. Camb.* some time ago. A little further on is Tregaman, on the brook Coman, the birthplace of Maud Peveril, wife of Robert Fitzmartin, who, in the language of the charter, “with the approbation, or rather by the exhortation of my wife Matilda,” largely endowed the Abbey of St. Dogmael's. A little beyond Tregaman is Treicert and Trewrdan,—so called from their owners, Ricart and Jordan, sons of Lucas de Hoda, a favourite of Martin de Tours. Ricart married (*temp.* Hen. III) Nesta, daughter and heir of Llewelyn ap Rhydderck, a younger son of the Prince of South Wales. Philip ap Ricart married Alice, daughter and heir of Sir Nicholas Martin, lord of Cemaes, from whom, through Geo. Owen, Sir Thomas Lloyd, Bart., of Bronwydd, claims descent.

A little to the right is Trellyffaint,—so called, says Giraldus, “from a man of the name of Syssyllt Escir hir Syssyllt *tybiá longá* Syssyllt, Longshanks having been there devoured by toads,” a story worthy of Giraldus. In the parlour of the house, over the chimney-piece, in the centre of a pretty landscape of the place, painted on wood, was formerly a dark marble toad, said to be sent from Italy by Sir Richard Mason, Knight of the Green Cloth to James II, to his relatives at Trellyffaint in Pembrokeshire, who bore a toad for their crest. It was exhibited at the Cardigan Arch. Meeting, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Owen of Cwmgloyn.

Not far off is Coedwynog, of which honourable men-

tion is made by George Owen ; and in the neighbourhood is Tredryssey, once inhabited by a Norman of the name of Cole, who is said to have first discovered marl at Llwyngwair, where he was first located. Marl was once plentiful in North Pembrokeshire, and extensively used for manure, as the old marl-pits prove. Llwyngwair has long been the residence of the Bowens, one of the oldest families in Pembrokeshire, represented by James B. Bowen, Esq.

All these places are on the old road from the Abbey of St. Dogmael's through Bwlch y Nhyfer, above the village of St. Dogmells, by Monington, Rhyd y Vantwn, to Nevern, *en route* to St. David's. A little to the left of this road is Feidr Saint (the lane of the saints); probably another way of the pilgrims from Strata Florida, by Nevern, to Menevia.

A field or two to the right, on the farm of Tregaman referred to, is Llech y Dribedd, or 'Tripod Stone,' supported by three stones. Another stone, which now lies on the ground, was once upright, and placed under the covering stone, but did not touch it in the time of Edw. Lluyd. Length of the covering stone, 9 feet 4 inches; width, 8 feet; thickness, from 4 to 5 feet on the south side, and tapering to about 4 inches on the north. Height of south supporter, 4 feet 4 inches; ditto, north supporter, 3 feet 8 inches. Horizontal circumference of covering stone, 35 feet; vertical, 23 feet. Though it bears no comparison to that of Pentre Evan in length, width, and particularly in height (being scarcely, in the centre, two feet from the ground), yet it is considerably thicker; indeed, it scarcely deserves the name of "llech," being more round than flat, and nearly oval. I know of no other of the like configuration. At a distance it appears like an immense boulder, nearly touching the ground. It does not possess what has been considered one of the distinctive marks of a cromlech, being quite as rough and rugged within as it is without. It is composed of crystalline slate, and has been used as a whetstone, as is evident from the indentations in some of

the angles ; but I should think that those who attempted to sharpen their knives upon it, must have met with the same success as those learned *savans* who have been sharpening their wits to discover the purpose for which it had been erected. It is too hard for a hone, though not quite impervious to an edged tool, as appears from the thousand and one initials carved upon it by rustics, who from age to age have thus endeavoured to immortalize their names. Taken altogether, it is certainly a most interesting object, occupying, like its neighbour of Pentre Evan, a very elevated spot, which commands a widely extended prospect.

"There is," says Edward Llyud in Gibson's edition of *Camden*, "in Nevern parish a monument commonly called 'Llech y Dribedd,' *i.e.*, *tripodium* ; and by some, the Altar Stone. It is somewhat of an oval form, and about twelve yards in circumference, and placed on four stones (whereof one is useless, as not touching it), scarce two foot high. At the south it is about four foot and a half in thickness ; but sensibly thinner to the end, where it exceeds not four inches ; at which end there is cut such a *ductus* or conveyance as might serve to carry off any liquid that should run down ; but to what purpose it was designed, I shall not pretend to conjecture." This stone has been sketched by Sir Richard Hoare, and forms a pretty vignette in the title-page of Fenton's *Historical Tour*. The worthy baronet has been accused of misrepresenting the stone as dipping south-east instead of north-west, as it actually does : indeed, something to that effect has been inscribed on the covering stone. Now the stone in the picture appears to me as not dipping to any of the points of the compass, but that the dipping depended on the stand-point from which the sketch was taken.

On the Newport road, at the junction of two ways leading respectively to Berry and Newport Sands, in a place called Feidr y Beddau (the lane of graves), were formerly small tumuli containing vestiges of graves, about which I could find no satisfactory information.

The old town of Tref Draeth (the town on the sands) was, according to tradition, like another Peranzabuloe, swallowed by the sands. Some slight remains of it are said to be occasionally discovered after a storm; but this is merely a supposition.

A propos of earthworks, with which I commenced this paper, two more remain to be mentioned. At the other end of the parish, about two miles and a half from Cardigan, to the right of the road leading to the Narberth Road Station, is Nant Brychellan, or Nant Berchellan, marked "Castell" in the Ordnance Map. It is precipitous on all sides; but perhaps less so on the south, where is situate the old farm-house of Nant Brychellan in a most picturesque spot, bearing marks of great antiquity, and having its groundfloor carved in the solid rock, like that of Cronllwyn, where Martin de Tours first unfurled his standard when he undertook the conquest of Cemaes. Near it is a fine spring, from which flows a small brook which has probably given its name to the place.

Nant Brychellan was surrounded by a fosse and a wall, which were levelled about the beginning of this century, and covered about an acre and a half of ground, which is said to be now the most productive portion of the farm. A broken sword and some other relics have been found there from time to time.

Adjoining this farm is Pentood (? sand head). The first syllable in Nant Brychellan signifies "a brook," while the two last are of doubtful interpretation. It is singular that the two farms are the property of a family of the name of Sambrook (sand brook), where they have lived for a vast number of years. Sambrook is one of the oldest names in the parochial records of this parish.

A little this side of Llantood Church, in the said parish, and two fields to the left of the road from Cardigan to Haverfordwest, from which former place it is distant about two miles and a half, is Castell Penallt Llantood, proudly overlooking the Vale of Cwm Gaer. Though not so large nor so curious as Caerau, it is much more perfect: indeed, I know of no other so perfect in

North Pembrokeshire. It is surrounded by a deep fosse, and an agger of earth ten, and in some places twelve feet high, and is covered with a fine plantation, which gives it from below a grand and lordly appearance. It has a fine well on the east, and on the south are the remains of an old stone tower about thirty feet in diameter. This, like Nant Brychellan, is marked "Castell" in the Ordnance Map.

Of the date of these two earthworks, and the purpose for which they were raised, nothing satisfactory can be advanced. A free discussion of the subject would be most desirable. There are places of defence on the Tivy which can be more fairly accounted for. Old Castle was probably a Danish encampment; and the spot now covered by the Coedmore flower-garden might have been an outpost to Cilgerran Castle, as well as the mound near Llechrhyd. Castle Maelgwyn is recorded in history. But my business in this paper has been chiefly with places to which no historic records are attached, or at least none that I am acquainted with; and for which, if there be any, I shall be very thankful.

HENRY J. VINCENT.

St. Dogmells. August 4, 1864.

THE INCISED STONES OF CAERNARVONSHIRE.

SOME time since notice was taken of a stone in Llanlechid parish, in the county of Caernarvon, which presented some singular scratches and marks. These, by tradition, were called by the native population arrow-marks, and had been caused by the operation of sharpening arrows, or some other weapons, in early times.

Since then several other stones have been discovered on the Aber mountain; and I have no hesitation in asserting that the grooves were made for the same purpose, and by the same kind of instruments, as those before mentioned. The uniformity of the marks is so striking that there can be no doubt that these remarkable stones found here and there in unfrequented parts amidst the Snowdonian mountains, were resorted to by our ancestors with a particular object in view. What this object was, is involved in considerable obscurity. The supposition already advanced, that they were merely whetstones, is again confirmed by local tradition; and what corroborates this, while it defines the weapons sharpened thereon, is the name given to one of these stones which lies half a mile from Ilynanafon, on the side of the path which leads to the lake from the village of Aber, viz. *Carreg Saethau* (the stone of arrows). The dimensions of the grooves do certainly agree with the size of an arrow-head, and the lengths of the lines agree with the convenient play of a man's hand whilst rubbing such an instrument backwards and forwards. The grooves vary in length from an inch to eight inches, and their breadth is not in any case much above a quarter of an inch; the greatest depth is likewise rather less than half an inch. There are also a great number of short incisions, which would be required to give a nice finish to the point of such an instrument.

But, after all, other ancient weapons might have suited the grooves quite as well as arrow-heads; and

the tradition respecting the arrows might have originated in the imaginative minds of persons who wished to account for these singular marks in a probable and intelligible manner, without any foundation for what they asserted. But if these stones were thus employed, they must have been so used in a period anterior to that in which portable whetstones were in demand. At least this appears probable, unless, indeed, some superstition was connected with the sharpening of weapons or other instruments upon these particular stones; in which case a knowledge of the utility of a portable whetstone might have existed at the same time that these stones were thus revered and used. Whether they were resorted to upon particular emergencies, as a battle, or from superstitious motives, or whether they were the most primitive form of a grindstone, I leave others to decide.

I may remark that, in all cases where these incised stones are found, there are other stones in the immediate neighbourhood, to all appearance equal to them for the purpose of sharpening tools; and in two cases there are excellent hones close at hand. Consequently it becomes a question of some importance why these particular stones were selected in preference to their less honoured neighbours. If we suppose that they were consecrated by authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, this difficulty is done away with, as the stones would thus become objects of a particular value. Without some such supposition this partiality is not easily accounted for. I may add that the majority of these stones already discovered are split into two fragments; and the scars are all upon the larger portion, arranged in three distinct groups, with a few isolated marks; but as there are exceptions to these peculiarities, no conclusion can be drawn therefrom. With the above exception, these favoured stones do not apparently differ in any way from others which surround them. Between the marks on Carreg Saethau are various alphabetical letters crowded together, and cut across each other; to all appearance the initials of persons. A few of them appear fresh; but

the greater number seem to be of respectable antiquity. Nothing approaching to an inscription could be discerned.

Besides Carreg Saethau there have been discovered two other marked stones on the Aber mountain. One of these is in an unfrequented part of Waun-y-Gors, a tract of mountain land between the old Roman road which passes Bwlch-y-Ddeu-Faen and the mountain wall. This stone lies deep in the ground. The surface somewhat resembles an elliptically shaped table, with a transverse crack through it. There are five other grooves on different parts of the face.

There is another stone, which stands in a field called "Ferdroed," about four hundred yards from the mountain. This stone differs from the others which have come under notice, by having only one group of marks, and by its being isolated.

It may not be uninteresting to notice the history of some of the most important places adjoining the situation of these stones, whilst at the same time some light may thus be thrown upon the subject of this paper. But before proceeding to the mountain, I may state that an urn made of burnt clay was found when a road was being made to Pen-y-Bryn. It contained ashes and a portion of a skull, which had escaped the effects of the fire of the funeral pile. The mouth was placed downwards on a flat stone. It was about a yard from the surface of the ground. This discovery was made forty years ago. A bronze celt, much corroded, was lately found close to Wig farm.

I shall now rapidly glance at several places in the neighbourhood of these stones. About half a mile from Carreg Saethau is a mutilated carnedd, properly named "Carnedd-ddelw" (the carnedd of the idol), but abbreviated by the inhabitants into "Carnedd'elw." The significant name bestowed on this heap of stones, and the appropriateness of Welsh appellations in general, is well illustrated in this instance. Somewhere about a hundred and forty years ago, as Paul Parry of Rhiwia, Llanfair-fechan, was working near the present carnedd, he picked

up what is said to have been an idol—an image composed of a metal resembling gold—which he carried home; but his house was immediately haunted, and to get rid of the troublesome spirit Paul threw the relic out of his house, which was disturbed no longer. The grandson of Paul Parry still lives at Llanfairfechan, and will testify as to the truth of his grandfather having found the treasure; and he believes in the ghost sequel, but supposes that the apparition was a shrewd neighbour, who made a more profitable bargain of the idol than his grandfather did.

“Pen-yr Orsedd” (the summit of congress) is the name of another peak of the range which surrounds the mountain ravine where Carreg Saethau stands. The whole ravine is called “Nant-y-Gelyn” (the foemen’s dingle). Near the entrance to the “Nant” is a small mountain farm-house, Hafod-y-Gelyn. It is built on the site, and of the stones of, what is said to have been a residence of the early princes of Wales. The old house was strongly built. The large chimney was protected with scythes intersecting each other at regular distances quite to the top of the chimney. The stairs were in the wall, and the walls were built of stones with mortar of cockle-shells. Mortar of shells is not uncommonly met with in some of the very old houses of the present village, and several of the oldest inhabitants can explain the process of converting shells into cement. To infer from the use of these shells as mortar, that shell-fish formed an important article of food in ancient times, would not be strictly correct, as far as Aber is concerned; for within the remembrance of the living, shells of different kinds strewed the beach in such abundance that there were even ridges of shells, and a waggon-load could be easily collected. So plentiful were these shells that the parish was called “Aber-gwyn-Gregyn,”—a name which implies a beach covered with shells. With this digression I return to the mountain.

Within a stone’s throw of Hafod-y-Gelyn is a small parcel of ground overgrown with weeds which is pointed out as the place where Eglwys-Hafod-y-Gelyn stood.

It is said that the same priest officiated in this church and that of the Gyrn on the Llanllechid mountain. The existence of this latter church is preserved by tradition only. Between these two churches there was at one time a good footpath. Its course is indicated by the following names, "Rhyd-yr-Offeiriad" (the priest's ford), "Rhaiadr-yr-Offeiriad" (the priest's waterfall), "Sarn-yr-Offeiriad" (the priest's stepping-stone), "Pont-y-Sgubor-Coch" (the red barn bridge). Part of the path is cut in the rock; with this exception, and the "sarn" already mentioned, no other part can be pointed out. There is not a vestige of the bridge remaining.

About a quarter of a mile from the site of Eglwys-Hafod-y-Gelyn is a small mountain fort. It stands close by the Roman road which passed Bwlch-y-ddau-Faen. Just above is a "pen," which has received the strange name of "Buarth-Merched-Mafon" (the strawberry-girl's pen); unless, indeed, the word has become corrupted, which probably is the case. Here the youth of the neighbouring parishes met to spend their holidays. The present "buarth" is less than its predecessor. The ground within is level, and well adapted for a dancing-green, though its use as such has passed away. Near this "buarth" are several cistvaens in excellent preservation.

On the summit of the mountain offshoot between Hafod-y-Celyn and the waterfall is a circle about eighteen feet in circumference, consisting at present of eighteen stones. Thirty-two appear to have completed the circle. These remains are on that part of the hill called "Cefn-Meuryn." On the western declivity are ruins of primitive abodes. The walls are, in a few instances, pretty perfect. The ruins extend over a comparatively large piece of ground. Might not this spot have been the site of the ancient village, Aber-garth-Celyn, which is mentioned in Welsh histories? And might not the present village have been called Aber-Gwyn-Cregyn to distinguish it therefrom?

A little lower down the ridge is called "Braich-y-

Bedd. Connected therewith is a tradition that great treasures are buried here. Many have unsuccessfully searched for these hidden riches. It is said, indeed, that a woman in times long past discovered an open chest filled with gold, who, perceiving that she could not remove so great a weight, hurried away for assistance; but ere she came back the chest had vanished. It ever since has remained most suspiciously quiet in its secret chamber.

Within a short distance of the waterfall is a small carnedd with a single upright stone in the centre. Still nearer the falls are a few traces of buildings. On the mountain side, a spot where the water commences its headlong race, and the channel of the stream is contracted to about two yards, has received the name of "Llam-yr-Ewig," or, the deer's leap.¹

Llanllechyd.

E. OWEN.

BODRHYDDAN MEMOIRS.

ENTRIES COPIED OUT OF PIERCE ROBERTS OF BRONHWYLWA
HIS MEMORANDUM BOOK, WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR
1595-1546.

1595.—Roberti Griffith gen. de Pengwerne, defunct. quarto die Februarie.

1609, Diserth.—Mem. That upon Tuesday it being y^e vii daye of Nov. y^e afternoone of y^e same daye the Rev. ffather in God, Richard Parri L'd Bishopp of Llanelwy, with hys wiffe and children and household ffyrst wente to lyve at Dyserth.

Rhyddlan, 1617.—Mem. That uppon Trinity Sundaye xv. daie of June, one John Dryhurst, sonn and heire of Mr. Hugh Dryhurst of Denbighe, and systers sonne of Syr John Conwy knyghte, was buried in Rhyddlan.

Gwerneigrn, 1617.—Mem. That upon Thorsdaie the 12 of Feb. one John Conwy, Esq. [one of y^e justices of the peace of y^e co. of Flynt] was buried in y^e parish church of Rhyddlan.

1619.—That Peter Conwy, sonne and heire of John Conwy, was burryed on the iiiith of March 1619.

¹ For notice of the Llanllechyd stone, with an illustration of the marks, see *Arch. Camb.* for 1863, p. 331.

Boddrhyddan and Rhyd.—Mem. That upon sessio Maii tent. apud Ffint 12 Mai An. Jac. Angl. Rex L. 21, et soliso vj^l. 1623. In thys session S'r John Conweye knt. and William Conwy hys brother and heire apparent, dyd leave a ffine to S'r Harry Salusbury Bart. and Knt., S'r John Hanmer Knt. and Bart., William Salusbury of Rug, arm., and Humphrey Dymor of Willington, arm., and to the heyres of S'r H. Salusb., of and upon the manor of Prestatyn, the lordship thereof, and all the messuage, lands, and tenements, hereditaments [and the mylne of Prestatyn], late of John Conwyes Esq. deceded, in Flintshire, so sealed and delivered to y^e s'd Mr. Dymor, to the use of hymselfe and to the reste of y^e cognigees: an obligacion expressing the uses of y^e saide ffine, viz. in y^e paper of covenante and indentures, dated the xxiiij of April laste, made betweene S'r John and hys s'd brother, of y^e one partee, and Mr. Thomas Mostyn of Rhyd, Esq. of tother partie, upon the conclusion of a marriage to be solemnised betweene Mr. Wm. Conweye and Mrs. Lucy Mostyn [eldest dau. of y^e s'd Thomas Mostyn], the marriage porcyon, £xiiij^s to be paide before the solemnisation of y^e marriage. These indentures, &c. were sealed and delyvered att Edward Malbies house in Flynt, beinge presente, Robert Davis, arm. of Gwasanau, Thomas Humphreys of Bodelwyddyn, arm. and meselfe, R. R., wyth dyvers other gentlemen, to the n^or of 21.

Dyserth Marige.—And upon the 2d daye of June, Mondaie, in Whitson weeke, William Conweye gent. [brother and heyre apparent of S'r John Conwy knight], and Lucy Mostyn eldest daughter of Thomas Mostyn of Rhyd, Esquire] being cousin german to the above named Thomas Mostyn gent., of Mostyn, were married in the parish churche of Dyserth by John Ireland, clefs, vicar choral of y^e cathedral church of Llanelwy.

1623, a lamentable Burial.—Mem. That upon Thursdaye, 22 of Maye, being Assension daye, Thomas and Marget, twinnes of John Ireland, clefs, one of y^e vicar chorals of y^e cathedrall churche, by Jane Conwy hys wiffe, were burryed; and upon the 26th Jane Conweye *alias* Irelande, their mother, dyed, levinge viij small children alyve.

1623, Rhyd.—Mem. That upon Sondaye y^e xiiij of Marche one Marget Conweye, eldest dau. of Mr. William Conweye by Lucye Mostyn, uxor, was interred.

1624, three Marriages in one Day.—Mem. That upon Saturdaye y^e xxvj daie of Nov. 1624, Thomas Mostyn, Esq. of Rhyd, and Gwen Pryse *alias* Parrie [widowe of the late Rev. ffather in God Rich. Parrie, late Bishop of Llanelwy, deceded] were married; and alsoe Wm. Mostyn gent. [sonn and heire appa-

rente of y^e s'd Thomas Mostyn of Rhyd], and one Ann Parrie, youngest dau. of y^e s'd late L'd Bishop, were married the daye and yeare aforesaide; and likewise Richard Parrie [sonne and heire of the late L'd Bishop], and Mary Mostyn, third dau. of y^e s'd Thomas Mostyn Esq. were married; on the same daie and in y^e same yeare.¹ Testa veritas (*sic*) R. R.

1625.—Mem. That upon iiij of Aprill Harrie Conwy of Nant... gent. was buried, levynge behinde hym v. daughters livinge, upon which daie our nobel Pr. Charles was proclaimed kinge in the towne of Denbighe, after hys ffathers dethe, our late sovereigne K. James, happeninge on the xxvij of Marche laste as it is reported.

1619, Armourye.—Mem. That primo April' 1619, apud Betws, Robt. Northe ab Isan ab Ievan and meselfe, with Northe ab Thomas Lewis and Ievan ab Ivan, were appoynted by Mr. William Wynne and Ievan Llwyd of Jal, Esquire, deputie leef-tenants, &c. to bear a corslett furnished. Robert Northe to paie xvis., wee [3] to paie vijs. iiijd. each.

1625, Plague.—Mem. That y^e plague in London was greate and grievous thys sumer, in soe much that in Julye there dyed about 1500 or 1600 theire of people. Inn Auguste there dyed there ten thousande and 50 in a weeke.

Election.—Mem. That upon Mondaye xxx of Jan. there was an election betweene Baronet Hanner and John Salusbury of Bachegraoge, held at Flynt, ffor appoyntinge one of them to be knigte of y^e shire ffor y^e Parlemeute, to be then after held in K. Ch. time, whiche s'd election passed with Mr. John Salusbury on the Wednesdaye followinge.

1626, Perth y gensi.—Mem. That upon xxv of June, about 8 of y^e clock in the afternoone, one Marie Conwy, 2d dau. of William Conwaye Esquire and Luce uxor, was Xtened.

Greate Age.—Mem. That upon Thursdaie 1st of Februarie one Joan ab Robt. ab Sion, an olde gentleman of cxi. yeres of age was buried.

Gwywydir.—Mem. That upon Thursdaie being y^e firste daie of March 1626, about vijen of y^e clocke in y^e afternoone of y^e same daie, i.e. about supper tyme, I beinge then at Trevirw, S'r John Wynn of Gwyder Knt. and Bart. dyed at hys then dwellinge house called Gwyder, and was to be buried on the 2d of March, i.e. Fridaie att nighte, as y^e reporte then wente at Trevriw.

Rhyddlan, Bodrhyddan.—Mem. That upon Sondai 29th daie of April about iiijor of y^e clocke in y^e morninge, i.e. upon y^e dawninge or breakinge of y^e daie, Mrs. Marget Conwy, widowe [late wiewf of John Conwy Esq. decesed, and natural

¹ The marriages took place in Dyserth Church.

mother of Syr John Conwy Knight] dyed att her house dwellinge, neare Rhyddlan, and was buryed in the nighte tyme, ffor that shee was a recusant.

1628, Greate Age.—Mem. That upon y^e xvth of Ffebruarie one William Gryffith [beinge an olde man of cvij yere of age] and Marget Gryffith hys wieff, beinge a gentlewoman, of y^e age of ciij yeres olde, and havinge lived togethyr in lawful marriage lxiij yeres were buryed in Molde in one grave, by reporte.

1629, Hendre and Plas Côch.—Mem. That upon Tuesdaie xxvth of Augt. Pierse Conwy [y^e younger sonne and heire apparente of Pierse Conwy the elder, of Hendre, gent.] and Mary dau. of John Thelwall Esq. of Plas Coche, sonne and heire apparente of John Thell. the elder, Esq., of Bathavarn, were married; then there beinge presente S^r John Conwy Knt., S^r Eubule Thelwall, and divers other gentlemen of good rank and fashion: ccccl. porcion from Mr. Thelwall and ccl. from Mr. Pierse Conwy the elder.

Stormes and Wyndes.—Mem. That upon March 1629 and 1630 the south porche of the parish church of Llanelwy fell downe, by reason of y^e greate and mightie wyndes, which happened upon y^e ffeaste daie of y^e blessed ladie St. Marie y^e Virgin, John Conwy gent. beinge one of the churchwardens.

1630, Bridge rebuilt.—Mem. That in y^e moneths of June and Julie, August, Sept., and October, the bridge called Pont Davyd Escob *alias* the bridge of Bishop David upon y^e Clwyd, was rebuilt anewe; cl. beinge levied upon the whole co. of Fflynt.

Perth-y-gensi.—Mem. That upon y^e xxth of March, beinge Sondai, John Conwy, eldest sonn and heire apparent of Wm. Conwy gent., brother and heire apparente of S^r John Conwy Knt. of Bodrhyddan, by Lucy Mostyn uxor, was Xtened, by reporte of Piersé Conwy of Hendre Rhyddlan [beinge then Highe Sheriff of the countie of Flynt], and John Conwy gent. cousin german to y^e s^d Wm. Conwy gent. being hys deputy, and both being godfathers. Mem. The childe was borne in the nighte before the signe beinge in Capricorne.

1630, Hendre.—Mem. That upon y^e xxixth of Aprill hapening in y^e assize weeke in Fflynt, Pierse Conwy of Hendre Rhyddlan, Esq. beinge then highe sheriffe dyed there.

Mem. That upon vth daie of Nov. 1630, the Rev. Ffather in God John Owen Bishop of Llanelwy, was sworne to execute the place of justice of y^e péace; and upon y^e Saturdaie followinge, i.e. vi of Nov. hee was married to one Ellen Owen, hys thirde wieff, in y^e parishe church of Denbighe, called Eglwys Wen, and English White Church.

St. Asaph, 1631.—Mem. That upon Sondai ixth of October one Catrin, ffirste and eldeste dau. of John the Rev. Ffather in God Bishop of Llanelwy, by Elen Owen, hys nowe wieff [beinge hys thirde wieff] was Xtened, being born about midnyght by reporte.

St. Asaph.—Mem. That upon and in the week before Xmas the floure *flooded* (?) wainscotte pulpitt was made and placed in y^e chancell of y^e cathedrall church; and in Ffebruarie 1631 the bishops seate in y^e south syde, togethyr with seates, or fformes, placed and sett ffor schollars and others, comers thither to heare divyne service and sermons there, were sett up by the Rev. ffather John Owen L'd Bish. of Llanelwy.

Brodrhyddan.—Mem. One Leonard Burtingshawe was buried in Rhyddlan church, who dyed att Bodrhyddan on y^e xxvjth Ffebruarie 1631.

1632, Hendre.—Mem. Inn y^e sum'er monthes the greate barne at Hendre Rhyddlan was built within the franchise of Rhyddlan.

1634, Ruthyn.—Mem. That upon Tuesdaye the vth of Auguste the right Honble. John Earl of Bridgewater, L'd Presidente of y^e Principalitie and marches of Wales, came to Ruthyn, where he mustered the Wednesdaye after.

1635, Organ, St. Asaph.—Mem. That in y^e beginninge of Octr. y^e greate and newe organ in y^e cathedral church was sett up, and plaied upon y^e same, beinge ffirst brought, and carried thither ffrom London upon Saturdaie the vth of Septr. the Rev. ffather L. John Owen being bishop. "Magna silet campana, sonant tamen organa sancti Asapheus; honor, gloria, laus Deo." John Wilson y^e organ player.

1637, Dry Sumer, dear Yere.—Mem. That itt rained little or nothings ffrom y^e begininge of Marche till y^e xxvijth of June. Elwy drye, that the water corne milles are readye to stand still unless itt be stoped up with bordes. One whoope of wheate xvjs. ; one of barley xiijs. 4d.

1637, Perth-y-gensi.—Mem. That upon Wednesdaie y^e xxxth of Auguste Marget Conwye spinster, eldeste dau. of William Conwye Esquire by Luce hys wieff, was burred in Rhyddlan church, Thomas Mostyn Esq. her grandffather beinge then highe sherrieff for Flyntshire, then presente with five or vi esquires or more.

Mem. That upon Sondaie y^e thirde of Oc'er, and afore daie, John Conwye gent. eldeste sonne and heire of William Conwye Esq. departed thys lyffe.

1637, Ludlow.—Mem. S'r John Bridgeman Knt. sergeant att lawe, beinge Chieff Justice of Chester, and of hys Majesties

Councill in y^e marches, dyed att Ludlowe, and was shortlie then after buried.

Rhyd.—Mem. That upon Sondaie y^e xxiiij of Febr. Edward Parrie, the youngeste sonn of the late Revd. L. Bishop Parrie dyed at Rhyd.

1638, Ludlowe.—That upon Easter Eve S^r Thomas Millwarde Knt. was made Cheefe Justice, and Sessions proclaimed to be held upon Tuesdaie in Easter weeke by reporte.

Plas Coch.—Mem. That upon Sondaie y^e xxiiij of Sept^r Catrin Conweye, eldest dau. of Peter Conweye y^e younger and Mary uxor, was borne att Plas Coch.

That in y^e moneths of Oct^r and Nov^r y^e steeple and belfry of y^e cathedral church and y^e lofte there were repaired and boarded, and fframes of the 3 belles re-edifyed bye *Nowthe* (?) ab *Ediss* (?) ab Sion D.D. (?) and others.

Drye Wether.—Mem. That upon y^e xxth of Febr. laste paste there fell greate rayne, and there happened greate and strange westerlye wyndes, sittence whych tyme hereuntoe there fell no rayne, but it is drye nowe in Aprill xxiiij.

1639, Rhyddlan.—Mem. That upon Fridaie before Assension daie Ann Conweye *alias* Morgan, y^e wieff of Edward Morgan of Gwalgre, was buried at Rhyddlan.

St. Asaph.—Mem. That upon Tuesday y^e iiii of Feb. Luke Williams, my L^d Bishops taylor, and Dorty Jones were married.

1641, Bodrhyddan.—Mem. That upon Mondaie y^e xiiijth of Sept^r. aboute v of y^e clocke in y^e morninge, S^r John Conweye Knt. [beinge borne y^e xxi of June 1575, and married to hys nowe ladye, Dame Mary Morgan y^e xxiiij of July 1589] departed out of thys troublesom lieff, att hys house called Bodrhyddan, upon y^e ffeaste of St. Matthewe, and was buried upon the xxi of Sept^r.

1641, Prestayn.—Mem. That upon Fridaie y^e xixth of Nov. one Dorothy Mostyn spinster [one of y^e twinnes of Edward Mostyn Esq. decesed], was buried att Rhyddlan, in the Cellar, or buryinge place of S^r John Conweye deseced, shortlie after hys death.

London.—Mem. That upon Tuesdaie y^e xiiij of Decembre my L^d Bishop John Owen wente towards London to y^e Parlemente.

Rhyd.—Mem. That upon y^e xix of Maye Thomas Mostyn Esquire [havinge departed out of this transitorie lieff upon Wednesdaye night afore] was buried in Diserth church, it beinge Assension Thursdaie.

1641, Warres.—Some xix shippes loded with soldyers and

am'unicon ffor warres were seene upon shrove Sondaie sailinge anynche Rhyddlan ffor Irlande, to suppress y^e rebellyon there of y^e Irishe nation.

1642.—Mem. That upon Mondaie nexte before the vj of June my L'd Bishop Owen retorned from y^e Parlemeute in London.

Adventus Re. Caroli I.—Mem. That upon Fridaie beinge y^e xxiii daie of Septr. our sovereigne L'd Kinge Charles came to West Chester, where hee and hys armee staid till Tuesdaie followinge, and wente ffrom thence to Shrewsburie, where hee had bin affore.

Cegidog.—Mem. That upon y^e xxx of Decr. John Hughes gent. sonn and heire of Hugh Jones gent. was buried; and upon y^e Sondaie affter his dau. and onely childe was buried, soe y^t there is noe heire lefft to inherit &c.

Rhyddlan Vault built.—Mem. That upon Sondaie y^e xxii of Jan. Dame Marye Conwye widowe [late wieff of S'r John Conwye deseced] was bured in y^e North Cellar of y^e parish ch. of Rhyddlan, beinge latelye built.

Talase.—Mem. That upon y^e xxv of Aprill Gwen Pryse, *al's* Parrie, *al's* Mostyn, late wieff of Thos. Mostyn Esqr. deceased, and former wieff to Bishop Parrie, was buried by y^e s'd bishop's side in y^e cathedral church, in y^e chancell, north side, and Mr. Gabrill Parrie made a funerall sermon upon y^e 2d cap. St. Luke, 26 verse.

1643, Bodrhyddan.—Mem. That upon Sondaie ye iiii of Februarie Catrin Conwy *al's* Myddleton widowe, late wieff of William Myddleton Esq. dyed at Bodrhyddan.

1644, Rebellion, Ruthyn.—Mem. That upon Sondaie y^e xx of Octr. in y^e afternoone, y^e enemies, *i.e.* S'r Thomas Middleton Knt. and his armie, tooke Ruthyn and imprisoned such male persons as they tooke holde of; and greate rayne and foule weather happened, fell upon Fridaie and Saturdaie y^e xixth of Octr., and alsoe upon that Sondaie and upon y^e Mondaie and Tuesdaie, "Divortant ben (*sic*) sed Jesus dabit his quoque finem." The rebels retorned and fled backe upon Mondaie, God be thanked.

1645, St. Asaph, Rebellyon: "Libera nos, D'ne, a malo. Amen."—Mem. The 24, 25, and 26 daies of Aprill y^e rebels, *i.e.* S'r Wm. Brereton and S'r Thos. Myddleton, knyghtes, with their armies have plyndered St. Asaph and parishe, excepte Wicwer, and made greate spoyles, &c.

Re Caroli, Denbigh.—Mem. That upon Saturdaie and Fridaie y^e xxvi and xxvii of Sept., an. Car. xxi, our saide sovaine L'd K. Charles, &c., was in person att the Castle of Denbigh,

whereof Mr. Wm. Salusburie of Rûg was governor under hys majestie. God save the kinge and realme. God sende us peace in Christe Jesus our Lord. Amen.

Mem. That upon Thursdaie y^e xvj of April y^e town and castle of Denbigh were taken by the Parliament men, and the market upon the Wednesday afterwards was kept at the Elme tree in the bottom of the town, that is above or near the Lady Salisburys house in the lower end of Denbigh.

Mem. The gallon of butter was sold for xxs.

The following extracts are also from the same Register:—

1615.—Upon Saturday in the morning of xxij of July, Hugh brother to Mr. Piers Pennant of Bychdan, Esq. died, having been hurt upon the head by one Piers Hughes upon the Monday before.

This brawl is mentioned by Pennant in his *History of Whitford* (p. 49), who had also access to, and made some use of, Peter or Pierce Roberts' memoranda. This Piers Pennant, who was the first of the Pennant family that served as sheriff (which he did in 1612), married into a family which Pennant mentions was not of a very peaceable character; and that from this marriage was inherited the pugnacious qualities of their descendants. His eldest son, Thomas, killed his miller, and was convicted of manslaughter, but pardoned by Charles I, 1625. (*History of Whitford*.)

1617.—Mem. Upon Tuesday beinge the first day of April, about viij of the clocke in y^e morning, the Rt. Honble. Rafe L'd Eure, L'd President of the Marches, died in the Castle of Ludlow, and was buried at midnight following.

1626.—By reporte, upon Saturday the 4th of November, about twilight, John ab Richard of Cwybyn, and Elizabeth dau. of Evan Llwyd of Wigvair, were married clandestinely in the Chapel of Ffynon Vair by John Williams, clarke (ancestor of Mr. George Griffiths of Garne, A. 41).

1630.—Pont Davyd Esgob, together with two little bridges between it and the cathedral, were set up of newe with stones, whereas before they were made of tymber, £151 being levied out of the whole county of Flint.

The above repairs, the same as those mentioned at p. 323, occupied from June to October.

The original Register of Pierce Roberts has vanished, but fortunately Miss Lloyd of Rhyl had previously made a transcript of it, and from which the above is extracted. It was given by the late Lord Mostyn to Lloyd, the author of *Beaumaris Bay*, and subsequently bequeathed to Miss Lloyd together with a large number of MSS. ; but which, from the ignorance or neglect of the executor, never reached that lady. Pierce Roberts was an attorney, and the registrar of St. Asaph, and lived on his own estate of Bronwylfa. His son William had Pembedw Ucha, probably from his mother, an heiress ; but on his father's death he resided at the paternal mansion of Bronwylfa, where his fourth and youngest son was born in 1645. According to this account the son must have continued the Register, unless the birth of his son in 1645, at Bronwylfa, happened from the accident of his wife's visiting her father-in-law at the time.

E. L. BARNWELL.

THE SMALL CROSS AT PENALLY.

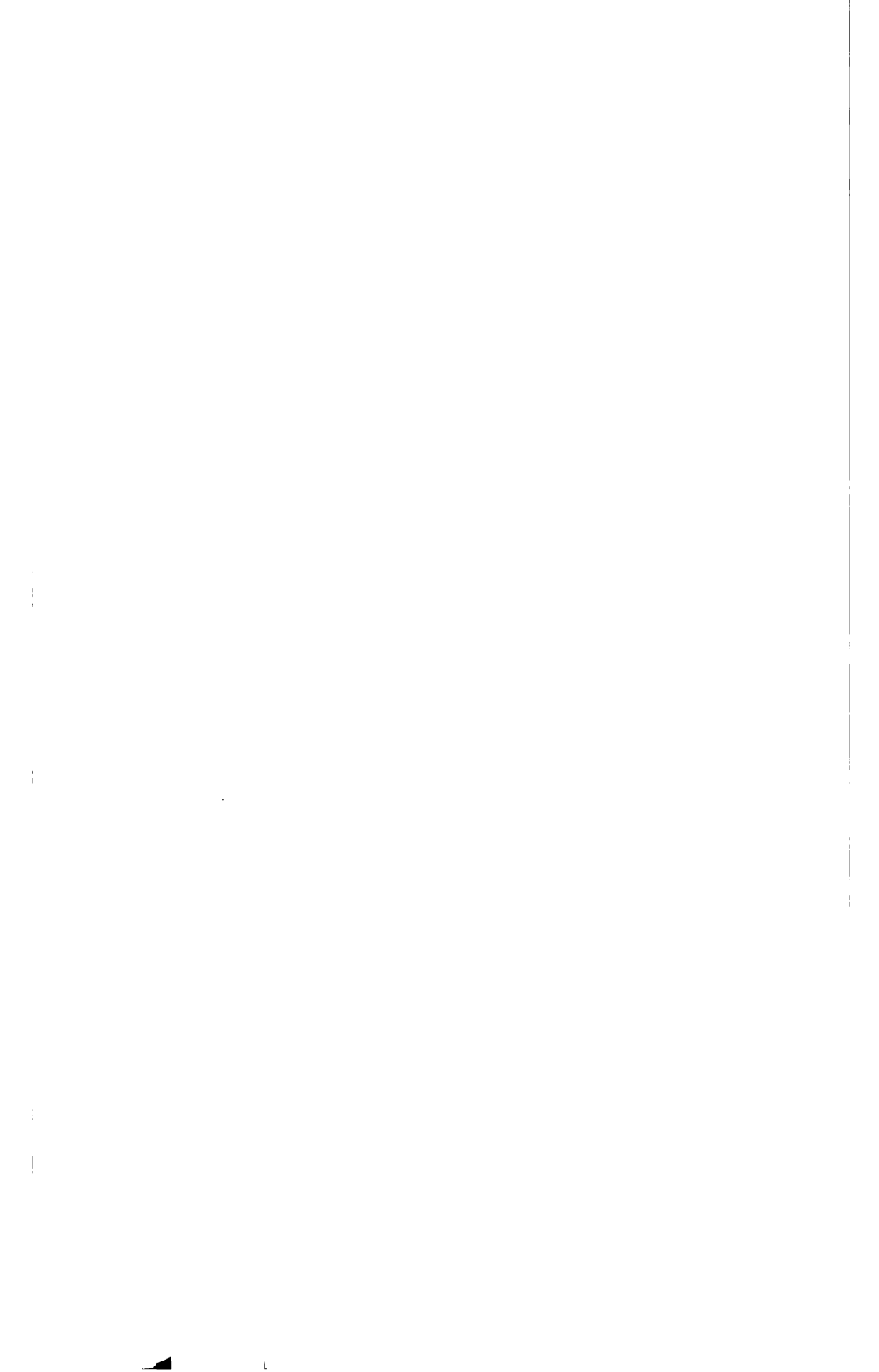
PENALLY appears, from the early Christian remains discovered there, to have been a favourite spot with the artistic monks of the middle ages. In addition to the very beautiful cross here figured, which stands near the west end of the church, there is a curious, large, flat stone, ornamented with rude dragon-patterns, in the churchyard to the north side of the church ; and two small but very interesting stones, one ornamented with an interlaced ribbon-pattern, inscribed "Hec est crux quam ædificavit Mail Domnc....." in Hiberno-Saxon minuscule letters ; and the other covered with the peculiar Chinese-like pattern which is found in many of the oldest Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, were found some years ago in the vestry of the church, and which ought to be affixed to the inner walls of the church itself for safer preservation.



Side

West

East



The elegant cross in the churchyard, here drawn to a scale of one inch to a foot, is six feet and a half high, and is ornamented on both sides with interlaced ribbon-patterns of an ordinary character on the west side, the edges, and portion of the eastern side. The latter, however, is more elaborate than the western side, shewing that its present position, facing the western end of the church, is that for which it was designed. The slightly enlarged boss of the cross, on this eastern side, exhibits an unusual angulated and interlaced ornament; of which Mr. Petrie has given an example from Glendalough, in his work on the Round Towers, and others occur in the Scotch crosses; whilst in the upper part of the shaft the interlacement is carried up into a remarkable vegetable form, with leaves, berries, and intertwining stems.

The head of the cross is formed of four equal-sized arms, of the Maltese shape, ornamented with interlaced ribbons, and having a boss in the centre, and the spaces between the arms are pierced. The whole of the cross has a narrow, raised line with oblique impressions along the outer margin. The peculiar, foliated ornamentation of this cross, united to the more ancient interlaced patterns, induces me to think that it is not of an earlier date than the twelfth century.

I. O. WESTWOOD.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—The following is an abstract from the Cotton MSS. setting forth the state of the North Wales garrisons, or rather some of them, during the time of Glendwr. I am not aware that it has as yet appeared in print, and I therefore thought it might be acceptable to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

At Conway John de Mascy was Constable of the Castle. He had fifteen men-at-arms and sixty archers with him. 39s. 2d. were allowed to maintain this fortress per day, amounting in the year to £715 : 15 : 10.

Caernarvon had Henry de Bolde for its Constable, with twenty men of arms and eighty archers. The annual maintenance was £900 : 6 : 10.

Crickyth had Roger de Accon for Constable, with six men of arms and fifty archers. Annual maintenance, £416 : 14 : 6.

Hardelagh had Dyson de Mascy for Constable, with ten men-at-arms and thirty archers. Maintenance, £389 : 6 : 8. There were constables belonging to the prince. The total of these charges amounting to £2,421 : 3 : 4.

Denbigh Castle belonged to the Earl of March, and had been granted to Henry Percy.

Beaumaris also belonged to Henry Percy, with the Isle of Anglesea. Of these castles, Robert de Rutland with twenty men of arms and a hundred and twenty archers kept Denbigh at an annual expense of £1,672 : 18 : 4.

John de Pulle, with fifteen men of arms and a hundred and forty archers, kept Beaumaris at the yearly expense of £988 : 10 : 11.

The castles which belonged to the Prince of Wales as Chamberlain of Chester were Rhudlan and Flint. Of Rhudlan, Henry de Conwey was Constable, who kept it with nine men of arms and thirty archers at the expense of £422 : 15 : 10. Of Flint, Nicholas Hawlech was Constable, with four men of arms and twelve archers. Expense, £146 per annum.

MSS. Cotton., Cleop. F. iii, fol. 125.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.

A MEMBER.

THE LOST CHURCHES IN WALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In a former letter to you I alluded to the once existing church in Derwen parish, the site of which is known only to a few of the oldest of the native residents. It was said to have had a sanc-

tnary attached to it, where minor offenders found a safe asylum. Having been informed by my intelligent friend, Mr. Robert Pierce, who resides in the district, that a portion of the roof of this church still existed in a barn near his house, I lately went over and inspected it with him. The name of the farm-house is Pyllau Perth. The building lies a little to the north of the ancient road which was formerly the sole road through Wales from north to south, commencing from Holywell and ending at St. David's, and still the only road in some parts of its extent. The roof of the barn and cowshed (for the building seems to have been divided into these two compartments) is supported by two couples from the church, one of which is more perfect than the other, and of the fifteenth century, the usual period at which most of the churches in the lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd appear to have received these roofs,—many of them very handsome ones. As at this time the lordship fell to the crown, it is not improbable that Henry VII, to shew his gratitude to his Welsh friends, put all the churches of the lordship into good order.. In addition to these couples there are various pieces of carved oak introduced in other portions of the building, evidently portions of the old church. It has been stated that not far from Maysmore, near Corwen, are two church roofs now doing the same duty to barns. Whether this is true or not, I have not been able to ascertain; but it is not improbable that the one here mentioned is one of the two, as Maysmore is not at so great a distance. However, any of our members who live near could easily ascertain the truth of this story.

Not far from the farm, and close to the ancient road above mentioned, is a large square bath of rude masonry, the bottom of which is reached by steps. It is called "Fynnon Sarah," or Sarah's Well; but its history has been entirely lost, not even a tradition existing concerning it. It is situated at the back of what is now a common cottage of unusual lowness, so that a person of a little more than the average height must take care of his hat, if not of his head. The masonry of this building is extremely rude, almost approaching the Cyclopiian, and certainly very different from the ordinary rude work of the cottages in this remote district. It has evidently been connected with the bath in some way or other, either as the abode of the *custos*, or of the priest, if this bath was a primitive baptistery, of which it has somewhat the appearance. Mr. Robert Pierce has promised to make further inquiries concerning any traditions that may still be ascertained, although he himself, a resident for years, has never yet heard of one.

There is a similar, but much more perfect and carefully built bath in the dingle above the church of Llanrhaiadr in Cymmerch, and which even after the Reformation was said to be in great repute for its healing qualities. But this had evidently been connected with the church, whereas Fynnon Sarah is far distant from one, and is only remarkable for being situated close by the road, which is certainly one of the oldest in the Principality, and when pilgrimages to St. Davids were in fashion must have been one of the most frequented.

I am, Sir, yours very obediently,

E. L. B.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the Report of the Meeting held by the Association in Bangor, I lately noticed that Mr. Hughes of Kinnel Park had kindly undertaken to have the stone on Fronteg Farm removed, and placed in some secure and suitable position. May I inquire of yourself or any other member, and more especially the Local Secretary for the district, whether this good intention of Mr. Hughes has been carried into effect? And if so, where the stone is at present? If, however, nothing has yet been done, I hope the matter will not be allowed to drop, but that steps be taken to remind Mr. Hughes of his promise as soon as possible.

Yours truly,

CYMRO.

AMMOBRAGIUM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—Richard de Pynelesdon (Puleston) held lands and tenements in Worthynbury (in English, Mailer), in the county of Flint, which were held of the king by certain services, and by *ammobragium*, which extended to five shillings. This *ammobragium* was a pecuniary acknowledgment paid by tenants to the king, or vassals to the lord, for liberty of marrying or not marrying. There was an ancient fine in Wales called *amobyr* (whence *ammobragium* is probably derived), which has been stated to be the fine paid by the vassal to the superior to buy off his supposed privilege of keeping company the first night; but that such a barbarous custom ever existed, or could exist, in a civilised country is incredible. The real *amobyr*, or rather *gobr merch*, was an ancient British custom, and was a fine paid either for marrying the daughter of a vassal or the seduction of a maiden. The Welsh laws checked by fines, as far as possible, all unbecoming liberties, and among these checks was the *amobyr* (*Leges Wallie*, 199). But there were one or two curious methods adopted. Thus, if a wife proved unfaithful to her husband, the latter paid five shillings to his lord as long as he cohabited with his unfaithful spouse; but if she lived with her paramour, then the fine fell upon him. In case the prince was the sufferer, the fine was a very serious affair, being nothing less than a gold cup and cover, as broad as the royal visage, as thick as a ploughman's nail who had ploughed nine years; and a rod of gold as high as the prince and as thick as his little finger. Nor was this all. The culprit had further to satisfy the royal honour with one hundred cows for every cantref he ruled over, and a white bull with different coloured ears for every hundred cows.

In case of the seduction of a maiden, her compensation was still more curious, if not quite so costly. On appealing to the court against her deceiver, she was submitted to the following proof of her veracity. The tail of a three years' old bull, which had been shaven and well greased, was inserted through a wicker door. This she

had to grasp while two men goaded the beast. If she was strong enough to hold it, she had the animal by way of satisfaction ; if not, she got nothing but the grease on her hands. (*Leges Walliæ*, 82). Beckwith, in his *Fragmenta Antiquitatis* (p. 260), in mentioning the above, remarks that it was singular that the ancient Britons should apparently make so light of such crimes, when their German cousins inflicted such cruel punishments at least on the female offenders.

M.A.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—In the town of Montgomery it was formerly the law that all scolds and unchaste women, in case of any disturbance or fightings arising through their misconduct, should be taken to the “goging stool,” and there to stand with their feet naked, and their hair hanging down and dishevelled, and thus exposed to the view of passers by for as long as the bailiffs thought proper. By “goging stoole” is meant “cucking stool” or “cokestool,” an institution as old as Saxon times. But this “cucking stool” (of which a fine specimen is still preserved in Leominster Church) was for the purpose of ducking the offenders ; whereas at Montgomery it seems to have served as a kind of pillory.

May I ask if there are other towns in Wales where traditions of such customs still exist, or whether they are merely importations from our Saxon friends ? Montgomery having been so early occupied by these unscrupulous marauders, probably received this barbarous custom from them. Another instrument of torture, namely “the branks” (many of which exist in England) was, I believe, unknown in the Principality. Specimens were exhibited at the Temporary Museum of the Association, in 1863, at Kington ; and I believe also at Rhyl in 1858 ; but these, I think and hope, were also imported out of England.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

CURIOSUS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

MR. EDITOR,—As the *Archæologia Cambrensis* is said to be a general repertorium for all scraps which may in any way interest our countrymen, will you allow me to forward you the following brief extracts from Blount’s *Tenures* ?

“Kidwelly.—Hæredes Mauricii de London pro hac hereditate tenebantur, si Dominus Rex vel capitalis ejus justitiarius venerit in partibus de Kidwelly cum exercitu deberent conducere prædictum exercitum cum vexillis suis et totâ gente suâ per mediam terram de Neth usque ad Zoghar.” (Blount, 138.) The Earl of Cawdor is now the proprietor ; but probably has not the duty of escorting the Queen or the Lord Chief Justice from Neath to Lougher.

Grosmont.—William de Braosa gave to the king eighty marks, three great horses (*dextrarios*), five coursers (*chacuros*), twenty-four hounds (*sensas*), and ten greyhounds (*leporarios*), to have seisin of his castles of Grosmont, Skinfirth, and Lantley, in the county of Monmouth. (Blount, 134.)

At the coronation of Henry IV, Lord Leonard Grey of Ruthin, by petition before the High Steward, claimed to bear the second sword before the king at his coronation, by reason of his Castle and tower of Pembroke, and of his town of Denbigh; but the claim was not allowed. H. B.

WELSH HOSPITALITY A CENTURY SINCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCH. CAMB.

SIR,—I have recently met with the following document, which is not without interest: "The following is the bill of fare at the entertainment given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, at Wynnstay, on his coming of age A.D. 1770, April 19 (?):—30 bullocks, one roasted whole; 50 hogs, 50 calves, 80 sheep, 18 lambs, 70 pies, 51 guinea-fowls, 37 turkeys, 12 turkey-poults, 84 capons, 24 pie-fowls, 300 chickens, 360 fowls, 96 ducklings, 48 rabbits, 15 snipes, 1 leveret, 5 bucks, 242 pounds of salmon, 50 brace of tench, 40 brace of carp, 36 pike, 60 dozen of trout, 108 flounders, 109 lobsters, 96 crabs, 10 quarts of shrimps, 200 crawfish, 60 barrels of pickled oysters, 1 hog-head of rock-oysters, 20 quarts of oysters for sauce, 166 hams, 100 tongues, 125 plum-puddings, 108 apple-pies, 104 pork-pies, 30 beef-pies, 34 rice-puddings, 7 venison-pies, 60 raised pies, 80 tarts, 30 pieces of cut pastry, 24 pound-cakes, 60 Savoy cakes, 30 sweetmeat-cakes, 12 backs of bacon, 144 ice-creams, 18,000 eggs, 150 gallons of milk, 60 quarts of cream, 30 bushels of potatoes, 6,000 asparagus, 200 French beans, 3 dishes of green peas, 12 cucumbers, 70 hog-heads of ale, 120 dozen of wine, brandy, rum, and shrub; rock-work shapes, landscapes in jellies, blancmange, etc.; a great quantity of small pastry; 1 large cask of ale which held 26 hog-heads. It is thought that there were at least 15,000 people at dinner in Sir Watkin's park all at the same time."

If any commentary is allowable upon such an agreeable subject, allow me to observe that the *one* leveret and *fifteen* snipes could not have gone far; and that the *three* dishes of peas and the *two hundred* French beans shew the trouble of forcing the early vegetables in times when no railways existed to bring a larger supply from Covent Garden. The *landscapes in jellies* must have been well worth seeing; much more that *small barrel of beer*!

Similar documents might possibly be procured from other great centres of hospitality in Wales, and they would be well worth publishing as illustrations of good old times.

I am, Sir, etc.

VIATOR.

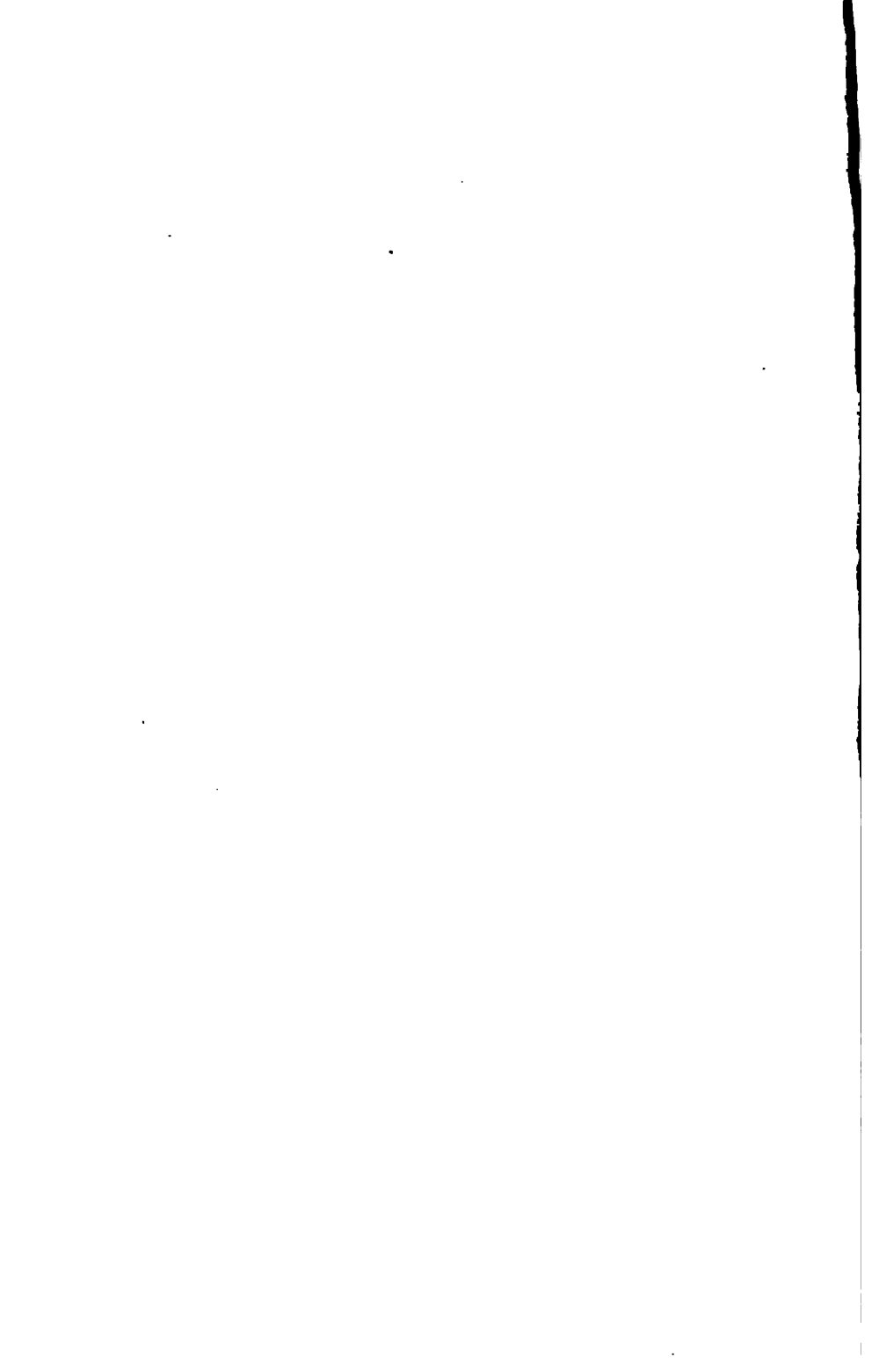
July 10, 1864.

Miscellaneous Notices.

LLANDEWEI BREFI CHURCH, CARDIGANSHIRE.—The attention of Cardiganshire gentlemen ought to be called to the condition of this interesting building. Something should be done to remove modern anomalies, and make amends for the bad treatment it experienced within the memory of man. No greater blot can attach to the intellectual history of the county than the partial demolition of this edifice ; the consequence, indeed, though remote one, of the great spoliation of the sixteenth century. The body of the church should be made more worthy of the grand central tower than it now is ; and the early inscribed stones in the churchyard, the Roman inscription, etc., should be taken proper care of. We hope, before long, to publish an account of the church in our Journal.

LLANBADARN-FAWR CHURCH, CARDIGANSHIRE.—The restoration of this fine old church is, we understand, proceeding ; and we hope that, if due respect is paid to its thoroughly national style, so grand a monument of ancient Welsh architecture will be preserved for the admiration of future generations. This church, however, will not be worthily treated until its *episcopal* dignity is restored to it.

HANDBOOK FOR LLANFYLLIN.—This publication, principally compiled by the Rev. R. Williams, M.A., is exactly what we should like to see imitated in every considerable town in Wales. The local history, the antiquities, the manners and customs, and the scenery of the town and neighbourhood, are all treated of in it ; and it cannot but draw the attention of those who visit that interesting neighbourhood. We are glad of the opportunity to mention that the church of Llanfyllin, a brick building of the *classic* time of Queen Anne, has lately had its interior treated in a most judicious manner by Mr. W. Scott of Liverpool, under the auspices of the Rector. New seats properly arranged, instead of pews ; a chancel screened off, under high stone arches ; windows framed in stone, and stained glass, have actually transformed this edifice from a barn into a satisfactory place of Christian worship. It is a striking example of what may be done, even in the most hopeless cases, when good sense and sufficient architectural skill are combined.



Cambrian Archaeological Association.

HAVERFORDWEST MEETING.—1864.

President.

J. H. SCOURFIELD, Esq., M.P.

THE Eighteenth Annual Meeting, held at Haverfordwest, commenced on Monday, August 22, 1864.

Active preparations had been previously made by the Rev. J. Tombs and a numerous and influential Local Committee, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

ADMIRAL JOHN LORT STOKES, *Chairman.*

The Reverend Sir W. Dunbar, Bart., Walwyn's Castle
The Reverend Sir Erasmus G. Williams, Bart., St. David's

Charles Allen, Esq., Tenby
Rev. James Allen, M.A., Castlemartin
James B. Bowen, Esq., Llwyngwair
James Bowen, Esq., Haverfordwest
James D. Brown, Esq., Haverfordwest
The Ven. Archdeacon Clark, M.A.,
Tenby

Rev. H. C. D. Chandler, B.A., Narberth
John Colby, Esq., Pffynnonau
Col. Arthur Saunders Davies, Pentre
R. Pavin Davies, Esq., Ridgway
Geo. Jordan Harries, Esq., Priskilly
John Harvey, Esq., Haverfordwest
W. V. James, Esq., Haverfordwest
Rev. R. Lewis, M.A., Lampeter Velfry
E. Taylor Massey, Esq., Cottesmore
Henry Mathias, Esq., Haverfordwest
Lewis Mathias, Esq., Lamphey Court
The Mayor of Haverfordwest
The Mayor of Pembroke
The Mayor of Tenby
Rev. S. O. Meares, B.A., Haverfordwest
John Lloyd Morgan, Esq., M.D., Haverfordwest

William Owen, Esq., Haverfordwest
Lieut.-Col. Xavier Peel, Denant
Rev. J. H. A. Phillips, M.A., Picton
Castle
J. B. Lloyd Phillips, Esq., Pentyparc

Rev. James Phillips, B.A., Wiston
E. Picton Phillips, Esq., Haverfordwest

John Pavin Phillips, Esq., Haverfordwest

John Wm. Phillips, Esq., Haverfordwest

Rev. W. D. Phillips, M.A., Cronwear
J. Rogers Powell, Esq., Haverfordwest

Charles Prust, Esq., Haverfordwest
John D. Roberts, Esq., Milford
Thomas Roberts, Esq., Milford
Nicholas A. Roch, Esq., Paakeston
George Rowe, Esq., Haverfordwest
Thos. Rowlands, Esq., Haverfordwest
Baron Frederick de Rutzen, Slebech
Mark A. Saurin, Esq., Orielton
John Stokes, Esq., Cuffern
James B. Summers, Esq., Rosemore
J. Maule Sutton, Esq., M.D., Narberth
Rev. Jackson Taylor, M.A., Freystrop
Rev. Jas. Thomas, M.A., Haverfordwest
Rev. W. B. Thomas, M.A., Canon of
St. David's
Rev. Joseph Tombs, B.A., Burton
Rectory
Rev. Henry Vincent, M.A., St. Dogmael's

Local Treasurer.

John William Phillips, Esq., Haverfordwest.

Local Secretary.

Rev. J. Tombs, B.A., Burton, Haverfordwest.

Curators of the Local Museum.

Mr. Jesse Harvey; Mr. Richard James; Mr. Thomas J. White;
and the Secretaries.

Office for Reference.

Mr. Edward J. Potter, Library, High Street.

MONDAY AUGUST 22.

As soon as the President Elect entered the Meeting, which was held in the County Hall, GEORGE CLARK, Esq., on the proposal of Professor BABINGTON, took the chair, and apologised for the absence of Sir John Benn Walsh, the out-going President of the Association, and who was unable to attend the Meeting in person. The Association was much indebted to the ready kindness with which Sir John Walsh had consented to accept the presidency in the place of the late lamented Sir George Cornewall Lewis, by whose untimely death the office had been vacated. Of the able manner in which Sir John had discharged his duties on that occasion, there was no need to remind those members who took part in the very pleasant and successful meeting held at Kington.

The Rev. JAMES ALLEN said that such a proposal really required no one to second it; but as a matter of form he would gladly do so, and at the same time he would congratulate the Association in being so fortunate as to have such an excellent President.

Mr. SCOURFIELD, on taking the chair said,—In welcoming the members of the Cambrian Archæological Association on their first visit to this ancient town, and to this part of Pembrokeshire, you will perhaps permit me to say a few words in reference to my own position on the present occasion. It is rather curious that, although I have been several years a member of this Association, I have never yet been able to attend one of its meetings; and it is still more curious that I should be called upon, on my first appearance amongst you, to occupy so elevated a position without any previous training in the business of the Society. I feel pretty much in the position of the actor who is called upon to take the part of Richard III without going through the preliminary parts of the early village cock, Buckingham, and Richmond. However, I will do the best I can; and, like the prisoner who stands for trial at that bar (pointing to the dock where the prisoner stands for trial at the Assizes and Sessions), I hope for a good deliverance. I have the pleasure of addressing several ladies, and no doubt the question that naturally suggests itself to them, is, What are we come here for? Some one has said,

“Give me the thing that ’s pretty, young, and new;
What ’s ugly, old, and odd,
I leave to you.”

And although our business here is to appreciate the “ugly, old, and odd,” I hope that will not lessen our veneration for all that is

"pretty, young, and new." The Cambrian Archæological Association has already visited the southern part of Pembrokeshire, having met some years since at Tenby. A great deal remains to be explored in this county. The only scientific society, except this, to which I belong, is the Geological Society; and I have gone through the county with one of the most eminent geologists of the day, Professor Sedgwick, who said that this was an admirable county for geological inquiry, as it was not what is called a "blind" county. Sir Roderick Murchison, too, states in his work on the Silurian system, that this county possessed extraordinary facilities for geological investigation. Now, *mutatis mutandis*, this remark applies to our present object, for the Geological Society has to do with the works of nature not modified by the hand of man, while the Cambrian Archæological Association has to do entirely with the works of man. With regard to the geology of this county, the whole strata seem to have been forced up by igneous and plutonic rocks, dislocating them in a remarkable manner; and so it has been with the moral condition of the county, whose inhabitants are of a most varied character, caused by the irruption of different races, who have all left their stamp on the county, both in its inhabitants and in its structures. This county possesses a magnificent haven, which in former times must have attracted attention; and before the facilities of navigation by steam were known, the neighbourhood of Milford must have been a place of great consequence. In those times it must have attracted a great number of strangers to this county, which history tells us was visited by the Danes, the Normans, and the Flemings, who have all left monuments of their works. It is the business of the archæologist to disentangle and to clear away all that is confused and obscure in these works; to give us, in fact, a picture of the past. We very properly attach great value to the study of history; but history would be incomplete without the labours of the archæologist. We are so constituted that it is impossible for any one to see relics of the past, however unimaginative he may be, without associating some ideas with them; and the uneducated people connect ancient castles and priories with ghosts, ogres, witches, and possibly with devils. Now the archæologist restores these buildings, in imagination, as they originally stood, and peoples them with the men and women of history. The archæologist also examines the implements that are found in these buildings in different parts of the country, and so connects the present with the past; and shews us that human nature is the same in all ages, modified, it is true, in its external forms by the customs and habits peculiar to the people of every age. In this county the objects of archæological interest may be divided into three classes: first, those connected with religion; second, the defences; and third, the family residences of the county. First, then, we have those connected with religious worship, including so-called Druidical remains, the ruins of ancient monasteries, and many churches. In the second division we have the earliest kind of defence, in formidable earthworks called "raths," and several interesting and pictu-

resque castles. It is a curious thing to see how extremes meet, as these ancient earthworks, which have more affinity with the modern system of warfare than the castles of a later period. Earthworks are now found to be stronger for defence than the Norman castle, which, by the application of modern science, would soon be battered down. The same thing is seen in ladies' dresses, the crinolines of the present day being connected with the hoops of a former time, with a long interval between. Thus it is that extremes meet. However, if any one wishes for information on the castles of Pembrokeshire, or, indeed, of Wales, he cannot do better than read some excellent papers in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* by my friend, Mr. Clark. Then as to the family residences of the county, there are some of very great interest. On Wednesday you will visit one of the most remarkable, the Old Palace at St. David's. There is another of the same kind at Lamphey; but that is beyond the range of your intended excursions. There are besides these some interesting old mansions that will throw light on the habits and customs of past ages. However, it is my business to point out in a general sketch what is likely to occupy your time, and not to give you details, which others, more competent than I am, are prepared to give. In conclusion, I would ask, What are we here for? Dr. Johnson says the man who makes the past or the future predominate over the present, raises himself in the scale of thinking beings. And if it were necessary, I would justify the pursuits and objects of the archæological and other societies, in the words recently quoted by a man of European reputation, Baron Cuvier,—“Every discussion which supposes a classification of facts, every research which requires a distribution of matter, is performed after the same manner; and he who has cultivated a science merely for amusement, is surprised at the facility it affords for disentangling all kinds of affairs”; and he goes on to say “that these peaceful studies are more capable than any other of supplying that want of occupation which has so largely contributed to the troubles of our age.” The objects of the Cambrian Archæological Society may, if viewed separately, appear dry; but the researches of this and kindred associations, when combined, are extremely interesting, for they make history coherent and intelligible, and thus promote the intellectual and moral progress of the community.

The PRESIDENT then called on the Secretary to read the Annual Report; before doing which, however, the Secretary read a letter from the Rector of Merthyr, who was unable to attend the Meeting in person, bringing before the notice of the Meeting the particular circumstances of Bardsey Island (hitherto extraparochial, spiritually and temporally), now threatened with being made a part of the parish of Aberdaron in Lleyn, and forced to contribute to the parochial rate. Mr. Griffiths was anxious to build the poor islanders a church, and thought that as Bardsey claimed to have once belonged to Pembrokeshire, that their case might be submitted at the Meeting, and that he would contribute £10 to the proposed fund.

The PRESIDENT objected to any proposition of the kind. In his judicial capacity in that Hall he had often to pronounce on such contested claims, and must put a decided negative on the proposed one of Bardsey. Other members no less strongly expressed their opinion that the matter was in no way connected with the Meeting, or business of the Association.

This being the universal opinion of the assembly, the SECRETARY read the following Report :

“Ten years have now elapsed since the present series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* was commenced, when certain modifications were also made in the working arrangements of the Association. It is with no little satisfaction that your Committee, in reviewing the proceedings of the Society during that period, are enabled to congratulate the members on the successful carrying out of the plans then proposed, not only as regards the financial department, but the general character of the Journal and of the supplemental volumes issued, consisting of the *Cemaes Records*, the *Historia Britonum*, the *Gwentian Chronicle*, and the two volumes of the *Survey of Gower*. Satisfactory, however, as this retrospect must be, the natural course of time must seriously affect the future of the Association, the conducting of which unfortunately depends on the active exertions of a very limited number of its members. In the course of nearly twenty years such changes must take place, that, unless a constant succession of younger working members be kept up, to supply the places thus vacated, the whole machinery must come to a stand-still. If these observations are generally applicable to an association like that of the Cambrian, they are particularly applicable, and must more particularly excite the serious attention of the members, when the Association has been suddenly deprived, by a dangerous illness, of a member who was not only the original promoter, and, in one sense, the founder of the Society, but has from that period been its most active and principal supporter. Your Committee have only to mention the name of the Rev. H. Longueville Jones, in order to convey some idea of the loss the Association has sustained. Under these circumstances, therefore, although there is a fair pecuniary support, unless some of the younger members are prepared to give their active cooperation either as members of the Editorial Committee or as General Secretaries, your Committee must express their anxiety that no other result can follow but the dissolution of the Association. This important consideration, therefore, is earnestly pressed upon the serious attention of the members in general. Since the resignation of Mr. Banks, of Brecon, no gentleman has yet been induced to undertake the office of General Secretary for the southern portion of the Principality.

“The Committee report that the additional fund established at Truro, to meet the expenses of editing the Journal, so as not to interfere with the funds devoted to illustrating the Journal, has been liberally responded to by several of the members. The balance in the Treasurer's hands amounts to £55:18:5; but then it must be

remembered that the Association has, since the commencement of the year, paid upwards of £60 towards the supplemental volumes of the *Gwentian Chronicle* and the second part of the *Survey of Gower*. There are, moreover, some amount of arrears, especially from South Wales, for which numberless applications have been made without success. Some of these arrears are for several years due.

"Your Committee recommend a vote of thanks to Sir John Benn Welsh, M.P., for his kind and efficient services as President of the past year, when the Annual Meeting was held at Kington. The retiring members of the Committee are,—G. T. Clark, Esq.; Professors Westwood and Babington; and your Committee recommend the re-election of these gentlemen, and the election of the Rev. J. Tombs. The following new members have joined the Association since the Meeting at Kington,—Richard Banks, Esq., Kington; Stephen W. Williams, Esq., Rhaiader; Miss Oliver, Rhaiader; C. J. Ingledew, Esq., Carnarvonshire; C. R. Williams, Esq., Merionethshire; J. Y. Hinde, Esq., Flintshire; Rev. Hugh Prichard, Anglesea; Capt. J. W. Johns, Montgomeryshire; C. Allen, Esq.; Rev. R. R. Rogers; E. Taylor Massey, Esq.; Rev. D. Hughes, and Rev. Thomas Horn, all of Pembrokeshire; W. H. Nevill, Esq., Carmarthenshire; R. Milligan, Esq., Putney; and Capt. Charles Miller Layton, Watford."

Professor BABINGTON, in proposing the adoption of the Report, referred to the literary management of the Society's Journal, which was left in the hands of only a very few members. He regretted that such was the case, and expressed a hope that many members would in future contribute to its pages. He then spoke feelingly of the illness of Mr. Longueville Jones, the present editor, and the difficulty they experienced in appointing a successor to him.

The Report was then adopted, and ordered to be printed.

The Rev. GILBERT N. SMITH, Rector of Gurfreston, read a paper on the testimony of the Pembrokeshire bone and flint-knife caves in regard to the antiquity of man. He said that it was not supposed, till after the commencement of this century, that there existed any other than the Hebrew record dating the time of man's entrance upon his estate in the great universe. Very lately, however, his early presence has been detected, not by his bones or his footprints, but by his tools, which are certain implements of flint,—some in the form of knives, some of hatchets, saws, arrow and spear-heads, and others round-ended flakes, the use of which some think it is not easy to settle, but call them scrapers, in reference to skins which they are supposed to have cleansed. He quoted from Cuvier's *Essay* in confirmation of this absence of all evidence, in the earth's strata, of man's existence earlier than five thousand years ago or thereabouts. Mr. Smith went on to describe the contents and situation of four caves in the county of Pembroke, two of which are new, and the other two new only in respect to the knowledge that they contained the bones of such animals as the lion, elephant, rhinoceros, hyæna, and other mammals, usually found in bone-caves together with these

flint knives. The bones and knives he exhibited on the table and in the Museum, together with similar knives from the Wady Magarah at Mount Sinai, from Mexico, from Yorkshire, and from Red Hill. He observed that it by no means follows that because these tools are now found in contact with the bones of extinct animals, that they coexisted in these latitudes. He had exhumed the handle of a Sheffield penknife, with the small plate for the possessor's name on one side of it, lying in the midst of the bones and flints. Nor does any cutting or figuring on these old bones by the human hand prove their coexistence; for the bones are so conspicuous that no casual cave-dwellers could have overlooked them, and they were as likely to adapt some of them to their own purposes as recent bones. In proof that these chips, flakes, or knives, were not of accidental but of artificial origin, he showed how the rounded ends bore indisputable marks of manipulation; more so, indeed, than the shaping of the flint of the old gun-lock which the percussion-cap has now superseded. He next observed upon the peculiar situation of one of these caves (Caldy Island), that it was so confined a spot as to prove the impossibility of herds of elephants and other large animals ever living there, since its separation from the main land; and so, by inference, of the coast of France from this island; which, however, he considered from the testimony of Verstegan, from whose *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* he also quoted, might not have been so very long ago. As to the way in which these bones got into the caves, he believed it was by water; and that those holes in the mountain limestone of the country, which are called "sinks" by the farmers, and into which the annual freshets still carry whatever they find in their roud-channels, correspond with their entrances; that the marks of gnawing which are found on the bones were made before they reached the caves; that the dung-balls of the hyæna sometimes found with them were swept in the same way, and do not *prove* the hyæna to have carried in the carcasses of other animals after death, more than his own, for he is emphatically a bone-eating animal, and so his dung is as firm as bone itself, and will stand the temporary action of water. His inference from the supposed coexistence of these extinct animals and man, the proof of which as yet he denied, was, that it must have been before the separation of this land from the Continent. He said he could show clearly that the flint-using tribe or tribes of men lived here at a very recent period; for that just above one of the caves called "The Hoyle," in which about eighty flint knives were picked up by himself and his assistants, there exist some eight or ten tumuli on a ridge of the old red sand-stone called "The Ridgeway," from within which tumuli, and in contact with the urns they contain, filled with burnt human bones, similar flint chips and arrow-heads are found. The Cambrian Archæological Association had found some in a tumulus there some years since. It was much more reasonable, therefore, to think that the inhabitants of the tumuli, when living, were the fabricators of the flint knives, than any race of men supposed to be contemporary

with the cave-pachyderms and mammals. Mr. Smith then referred to the theory of a bone, bronze, and iron age, as succeeding one another. He showed, by a quotation from that avowed atheist, Lucretius, whose book he had in his hand, that this opinion ought not to be fathered on the Danes; for that Worsaae, in his *Primæval Antiquities*, advocated such a modification of it as suggested another,—in fact, that of Aristotle, who says that the arts have often been lost and again recovered. That it was easy enough to conceive how any given family of colonists, after they had exhausted the stock of iron or bronze tools which they brought with them, must needs have recourse to what they could lay their hands on, and would soon forget the art of smelting iron, if any of a small family of emigrants happened to be skilled in it, which was very much more unlikely than the reverse. As to Lucretius and men who gave such unbridled scope to rationalism as to despise such old landmarks as even Plato honoured,—for Plato advocated the received doctrine of the origin of man as conveyed to him by ancient legends which he deeply revered,—as to such men as Lucretius, he shows how, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and by way of instance quoted a line in which that writer says that man's hand was not made to grasp anything; but because he found he could do so, that therefore he did it. He called him a great fool, with all his hardihood in the denial of God, and his sporting the specious theory of a bone, bronze, and iron age. He said, looking at what Newton's mind did when he inferred by reflection the combustible nature of the diamond, since proved to be a fact; what Lavoisier's mind did when, by the same exercise of the glorious faculty of thought granted to man, he inferred the existence of oxygen as the cause of the rust of iron, in place of that absurd phlogiston, since also verified, that it was clear to him that man did not chiefly advance in the arts by any accident like the burning of woods, whose embers melted the metals into the shape of the holes in the earth beneath, and so taught man to melt them again, as Lucretius would have us believe; but by intuition like that enjoyed by us all in some measure, and in a measure sufficient for all progress and utility, if we consider man at first to have had no more than as high a power of mind as fell to the lot of Newton or Bacon, or, in our own day, to Herschel or Faraday.

Professor BABINGTON spoke at considerable length on the subject so ably introduced by Mr. Smith. He did not agree in the conclusions come to by Mr. Smith, arguing from the position in which the bones of extinct animals and flint instruments have been found in gravel beds and in caves, that the men who made and used the instruments lived in the time of these extinct animals. He thought it probable that the climate of this country, at that period, was colder than it is now, and that the flint instruments found in gravel beds were used by the natives on the frozen rivers, and, falling through the broken ice, were deposited in the gravel. This was, however, only a conjecture. The subject had not yet been thoroughly inves-

tigated. They must wait patiently until there was sufficient evidence for them to arrive at a reliable conclusion.

After an interesting conversation the meeting terminated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23.

The excursion of this day commenced with an examination of the ruins of the Priory of Haverfordwest, usually known as that of St. Thomas, but dedicated to the Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr. The church was cruciform, and of the early part of the thirteenth century, as indicated principally by the few remaining plain lancet-windows. The ashlar work has been entirely removed, the church having apparently served as a quarry to the inhabitants of the town. The building, however, had been well constructed, and the mortar was remarkably good. A passage exists, worked within the walls, and said to lead to a vaulted substructure, which may have been the crypt from its situation; but the entrance was choked up, so no inspection was possible. Of the buildings of the establishment little can be made out from the scattered masses of masonry still in existence, so complete has been the destruction. There, however, appears to be remaining a vaulted passage, now not accessible, which served as a communication between some of the buildings of the convent.

A short walk led the excursionists to the remains of Haroldstone House, a view of which is given in the Journal of the Association for 1860. The only feature of the original building still remaining tolerably perfect, is what is called "The Steward's Tower," inhabited a few years ago, and which presents an interesting example of a domestic and defensive building. A small square tower is built against the more habitable part of the structure, and communicates with it by a small doorway. From the summit of this tower a good out-look could be kept by the inmate of the adjoining lodge. It is called "The Steward's Tower," but more probably was occupied by the warder or porter. Its date appears to be that of the fifteenth century. Of the dwellinghouse itself, some of the party-walls remain; sufficient to indicate that the mansion must have been of considerable dimensions, but not presenting any strong defensive capabilities. As far as could be ascertained from the imperfect examination allowed, these walls formed portions of a building later than the Steward's Tower. The complete edifice, with its enclosures, occupied a square, one side of which consists of a raised walk, apparently for the accommodation of the ladies of the house; who, while thus promenading, might also amuse themselves with a somewhat distant and imperfect view of a cockpit in the adjoining meadow, consisting of a raised circular platform. This house was inhabited as lately as the early portion of the seventeenth century by Sir James Perrot,

an illegitimate son of the Lord Deputy; but how it came into his possession, is not actually known. The Lord Deputy bought his mother's life-interest in it, and probably resided there before he obtained the grant of Carew Castle.

It having been found desirable to alter the arrangement of the programme, the carriages proceeded to the old parsonage of Johnston, once probably considered a very ample residence for the incumbent. It is now occupied as a labourer's cottage. Its date is uncertain, but of no very great antiquity. The stone staircase, worked in the thickness of the wall, extended for that purpose to the exterior; this and the large circular fireplace, which is now cut off by a modern wall, were the most remarkable features in the structure.

Johnston Church was the next object that attracted attention. It appears to be one of the most interesting and best preserved churches in the district, kept in good order, and hitherto undamaged by restorers. It is a cross-church with very slightly developed transepts, but cleverly managed. In the chancel are a credence-table, a piscina, and two sedilia, all of them worth careful attention. The font furnishes an excellent example of the Pembrokeshire type, having a very Norman look, but perhaps belonging to the thirteenth century. This one, as usual, has a square, not a circular basin. One of the most remarkable objects, however, are the double hagioscopes on each side of the church, for the convenience of the occupants of the small transepts. The tower is also an excellent example of the Pembrokeshire towers,—remarkable for their lofty and excellent proportions, without the aid of buttresses, and usually undivided into courses, the upper portion in most cases slightly projecting beyond the faces of the tower by the aid of corbels. The solidity and firmness of these towers is worthy of notice. They were probably built with unusual strength for the purpose of resisting attacks, and in many cases there are no external openings except in the uppermost story.

An interesting earthwork known as Roman's Castle was then visited. The banks are of considerable steepness and elevation, except on one side, the greater part of which has been completely levelled. From the cultivation of the ground, all traces of interior dwelling-places have long since been lost, even if they ever existed; for there appears to be some little doubt as to what nation this work is to be assigned. It is rectangular, with the angles slightly rounded off, and might be taken for a small Roman post, as the name seems to indicate. It is, however, more probably of Danish origin.

The excursionists' attention was next directed to the mutilated remains of a cromlech, or sepulchral chamber as these monuments are now almost universally allowed to be. Taking into consideration the sadly mutilated condition of most of these vestiges of the earliest occupants of this county, the present one, which appears to have no particular name, and to be unconnected with any local tradition or superstition, is a very fair specimen, of moderate dimensions. The structure at present consists of the remains of its supporters (once

probably six in number) and a covering stone. A huge mass of rock lies touching a part of it, which looks as if it had at one time formed a portion of the gallery or chamber. There are also the remains of original small, dry masonry, by which the gaps between the larger stones were always carefully filled up. Few traces of its former covering, or tumulus, could be made out. A modern bank across the field adjoins one side.

An examination of Burton Church concluded the first portion of the excursion of the day. This church presents a rather unfavourable contrast with that of Johnston, and would be materially improved by a small outlay, without any necessity for interfering with the original structure so as to destroy the identity of the building. The church is of various dates, commencing with the thirteenth century, unless the tower is Norman, as it is by some thought to be. The western door, usually wanting in Pembrokeshire towers, has been blocked up, as well as the northern one in the nave. There are north and south transepts and a south aisle of equal dimensions with the chancel. This portion is Early English. The south chancel wall was pierced with three arches, and the chancel walls were raised some feet; at which time the chancel arch was recut, and the arrangement of the hagioscope made. It is remarkable that the church is lighted by none of its original windows, which have been blocked up; and others of stone, and the worst and meanest kind of wooden sashes inserted. The bells and roof of the tower have vanished, the Sanctus bell alone remaining. There are still remaining a few of the original seats ornamented with the fleur-de-lys and linen pattern, which will be invaluable as a copy in case the interior of the church is cleared from its present unsightly boxes. There is a benitier in the porch with a Norman moulding, portion of an older church. In many instances, when a church was rebuilt, the piscina, benitier, and perhaps less frequently the sedilia, were preserved and worked up in the new building. The font, of the same character as that of Johnston, has been at some time mutilated, badly patched up with wood, and bedaubed with whitewash. In the centre of the chancel is a monument of a Wogan, of Boulston, as shewn by the punning devices on the sides and ends. Besides the usual coat of the Wogan (three martlets in chief) is another of three escallops. A fine cross ragule, in strongly developed relief, ornaments the top slab. It is of the seventeenth century. In the western end, under the tower vault, some later alterations appear to have been made, the effect of which has been to leave on each side a kind of tunnel or shaft running upwards. Whether this is accidental or not seems doubtful. If the latter, it is difficult to suggest its probable object: at any rate it could not well have been as stated on the spot, to command the lower windows of the tower in case of an attack. It is a subject of regret that no steps have been taken to put this interesting church into better order generally. A moderate sum, judiciously expended, would easily restore the edifice to its original character,—a character so clearly defined that the usual danger

of a restoration may be easily avoided. Few country churches better deserve a proper renovation.

In the churchyard is a well enclosed in masonry, and reached by a short flight of steps. This has been conjectured to have been a baptistery; for which purpose it seems too confined, and is far inferior in dimensions to the baptisteries existing in different parts of Wales. There do not appear to have been any healing properties attached to it by tradition, as is often the case with what are termed "holy wells." Its existence, however, within the churchyard is remarkable; and if not purely accidental, may be thought to add one more instance to the many existing ones where churches have been built adjoining wells.

On leaving the church the assembled company proceeded to Williamston, the abode of the President, where they were received with courteous and sumptuous hospitality; on the conclusion of which the day's work was continued by a visit to Benton Castle, a building of considerable interest, although of very moderate dimensions and of simple details. Its situation is no less picturesque than important, in a military point of view, as protecting the district of Roos on one side, as Roche Castle does on the other. From its dimensions it could not have sustained any long and systematic blockade, and was, therefore, more a kind of advanced post to command that part of the haven below, and to allow sufficient time, in case of an attack, to receive assistance from the more important Castles of Haverfordwest, Picton, Pembroke, etc. Its date is considered, on the best authority, to have been the last part of Henry III's reign, or at any rate previous to the great alteration in castle building introduced by his successor. The main building consisted only of a larger and smaller tower connected by curtains.

On leaving the Castle the carriages remained some time on the summit of the hill above, from which a most extensive and charming view of the whole country was obtained, the isolated Castle of Roche standing out in the horizon to the west, and the branch of the haven below on the east side, with the woods and Castle of Lawrenny below. As this charming spot was close to Benton Castle, communication by beacon between it and Roche Castle, at the opposite extremity of the Flemish province, could be easily made.

Langum Church was the last object visited this day. The building is kept in a very indifferent manner, and has little of interest, externally and internally, except the side-chapel on the north side, separated from the body of the church by two arches of late Decorated character. In the north wall are two bold but roughly executed ogee canopied recesses, under each of which is an effigy. The most eastern of the two is that of a knight in mail and plate armour, and of the latter part of the fourteenth or commencement of the fifteenth centuries. Fenton states that this is known to have been the monument of a knight of the Roche family, and thinks that Benton and Roche Castles were the limits of his jurisdiction as guardian of the province of Roos. He conjectures also that his

being buried in this church might have arisen from the circumstance of his having died at Benton Castle, or at a mansion (the site of which house was occupied by the old manor of Nash), to which this chapel is an appurtenance. In the other recess lies the mutilated effigy of a female, evidently not intended for its present position. There is a curious but clumsy kind of piscina, with an ill executed canopy over it, in this chapel; an inaccurate illustration of which is given in Fenton, who calls it a holy water niche; by which he, no doubt, meant a stoup or benitier. It is of the fifteenth century.

At the evening meeting, commenced at the usual time, the PRESIDENT in the chair, who, after briefly alluding to the very agreeable proceedings of the day, called on Professor BABINGTON to give a more complete and detailed account of the excursions.

On the conclusion of that gentleman's observations he was followed by Mr. TALBOT BURY with observations on the more remarkable architectural features noticed during the day. Mr. Bury entered into these details at some length; more particularly, however, dwelling on the interesting church of Johnston, which he considered a model of a country church, and kept up in a manner which he wished was more general in country districts. In alluding to the tower, which he assumed to be a good example of the well known Pembrokeshire type, he dwelt in strong terms on the necessity of studying local peculiarities, especially on the part of architects, who were sometimes too fond of introducing into districts either their own ideas or others imported from elsewhere, and which frequently harmonized very badly with the locality into which they were thus intruded.

Mr. CLARK, on being summoned by the PRESIDENT to make some observations on Benton Castle, commenced them with a brief review of the particular position of the district as regarded its military defences. In imitation of the greater works of Pembroke, Haverfordwest, and others of the same kind, numerous smaller castles were erected by the mesne lords; thus protecting their own private estates, as the larger castle defended the general district. Benton was such an instance, which he considered must be referred to the date of Henry III. There were no indications of any earlier pre-existing work. In plan it was a small, irregular court, at one angle of which rose a small, cylindrical tower surmounted by an octagonal battlement, probably later in date. The three floors had been of timber, and were probably reached by ladders, as there were no stairs within the walls. No traces of a portcullis existed. The door on the east side opens from the first floor on a short curtain, on which the main entrance is, and which is also unprovided with a portcullis. At the east end is a smaller tower; and from this, no doubt, the curtain extended. Below the Castle was a paddock defended by an earthwork which passes all round the Castle.

Mr. BARNWELL next followed with extracts from his *Perrot Notes*, pointing out the irreconcilable difficulties that existed as to the earlier portions of the generally received genealogies, and the later additions and interpolations introduced at different times. The

details, especially of the genealogical part, were necessarily of a dry character ; but certain matters were brought to light not previously known. Among these was the dispute between the Priory of Haverfordwest and the parishioners of Haroldstone respecting the performance of divine service ; which was finally settled by arbitration in 1464, the very year Sir Thomas Perrot, the principal proprietor of the parish, died. It was from this award that it was ascertained that the church of Haroldstone was originally given to the Priory by Sir Richard Harold, either the father-in-law of Sir Thos. Perrot, or of another Sir Richard Harold, his grandfather. The last will and testament of Sir William Perrot, grandson to the foregoing Sir Thomas, was next given, probate of which was granted 7th June, 1503. In it he directs his body to be buried in the Priory church of Haverfordwest, in the chancel, before the picture of the Saviour. He bequeathed 10s. to the fabric of St. David's ; to the Priory, £10 ; to his own parish church of Haroldstone, his velvet gown ; to the preaching priors of St. Saviour's, Haverfordwest, 5s. ; to the rector of Haroldstone, 6s. 8d. in lieu of tithe forgotten ; to his four daughters the respective sums of £10, £60, £50, and £40, as marriage portions ; all his residue to his son Owen and widow Jane. His widow died soon afterwards, and bequeathed 6s. 8d. to the fabric of St. David's cathedral and the church of Haroldstone ; to the Priory of St. Thomas 20s. ; and to those of St. Saviour's, Hereford, 5s. ; to the canons of St. Thomas, Haverfordwest, 30s., for service for her soul for one month. The residue was given to her son Owen. The will was proved on the 4th December, 1504. Certain details connected with Sir John Perrot's attainder, hitherto unnoticed, were given ; such as his letters from London, dated at York House and the Strand, urgently requesting sums of money to be forwarded to him from Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, to meet his law and other charges. An inquisition of his estates was held at Haverford Castle on the 26th of September, 34th Elizabeth, by which various estates (almost all leaseholds for twenty-one years direct from the crown) were found to have been in his possession. Two months previously to this, more than one inquisition of the furniture and effects at Carew Castle were made. From two or three entries it is clear that Sir John had not then completed his building at Carew, although from the long list of articles it is evident that he had inhabited it some time with a tolerable retinue. The glass intended for the windows of the great hall was supplied from Tewkesbury, and at that time was locked up in a chamber. Sir John had obtained from Queen Mary the castle, which lapsed to the crown on his attainder ; but was restored to his son Thomas, who lived but a short time, when the crown seems to have resumed it.

The PRESIDENT, in dismissing the meeting, alluded to the importance and interest of such notes as throwing no little light on the history of the county ; for the Perrots had at one time been the proprietors of a large portion of the county, so that their history might in one sense be called the history of the county.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24.

This day being devoted to a pilgrimage to St. David's, the carriages started at an earlier than usual, making their first halt at Roche Castle, where Mr. CLARK pointed out to the assembly the more interesting details of the very picturesque ruin. It is a mere tower, built upon one horn of a double upburst of slate rock. It is larger than, though not so old as, Carnbrea in Cornwall, which it much resembles in position; and it forms a well known and widely seen landmark in the southern part of the county. The tower is of a D-shape with prolonged sides, and may be of the reign of Henry III or early in that of Edward I. The lower floor was probably a barrack. It contains a singular mass of rock, *in situ*, which fills fully a quarter of its area. A straight stair, marked by some broken steps and the rake of the loops, led from the door, past a guardroom, to the first floor and the chapel. The principal room occupied the square part of this floor, with three large openings to the west, north, and east. South of this was a second room, and beyond this the Oratory, a small vaulted and groined chamber, occupying a square projection from the south or convex face of the tower. Above it is another small chamber, also vaulted, but inaccessible. The floors of the tower were of timber. Each stage has a fireplace. The stairs lay in the thickness of the wall; but the inner shell has fallen down. The exterior door has no portcullis. It is at some little height above the ground. It appears from certain bonding stones in the tower that it was originally intended to include the other head of rock in a sort of court; but this intention seems to have been abandoned. Below the tower, at the foot of the rock, a double bank and ditch enclose a sort of base-court or paddock. This tower exhibits certain Tudor windows and alterations; and it was inhabited down to the Rebellion, when it is said to have been gutted and burned.

On the termination of Mr. Clark's lecture the excursionists proceeded on their journey to St. David's, soon passing Newgal Bridge, which spans the narrow boundary between the Welsh and English speaking populations, and Solva, a comparatively large place without a church.

The remains of Bishop Gower's Palace were first examined, under the guidance of Mr. Talbot Bury. A full account of this remarkable structure will be found in Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, as well as of the cathedral, where Mr. Bury again kindly acted as a leader, and took the assembled company through all parts of the building, commencing with the west end of the nave. St. Mary's College was not visited.

The Dean and Canons Thomas and Richardson received the numerous strangers with a hearty and hospitable entertainment, on the conclusion of which a considerable number proceeded to the Head on carriage and foot.

At the farm of Penarthur was still found, in its unseemly and dangerous position, the Gurmanc Cross noticed by Mr. Westwood in the *Journal* for 1856 (p. 51), who speaks with uncertainty as to the date, placing it between the eighth and eleventh centuries. According to the account he received from the inhabitants of the farm, it came from a neighbouring moor, and was supposed to commemorate a battle; but according to the story told the excursionists, it was one of three similar stones formerly placed round a well famous for its healing powers. The remaining two were said to be still in existence, and had formed parts of the neighbouring hedge-rows. Immediate steps should be taken to secure the one now doing duty as a gate-post, and which may any moment be shivered by a cart-wheel. Inquiries should also be made about the two others; and, if found to be as described, they should be at once secured.

A little further on, to the left, the eye is struck by an irregularity in the surface of the furrows, at the spot where the Ordnance Map has marked as the site of Menapia. Vigorous researches on the spot might determine the accuracy of the Map, on the supposition that Richard of Cirencester is correct in his statement as to the existence of that Roman station, and that it was so far a city or permanent settlement as to make it very probable that the remains of Roman structures still exist buried beneath the lands of this district. It is true that neither Ptolemy nor the *Itinerary* of Antoninus mention the name; but the known existence of the preceding station, *Ad Vicesimum*, makes it highly probable that the Roman station of Menapia did once exist.¹

Along the face of the open mountain, between this point and the Head, are numerous traces of primæval remains; but of which also the limited time prevented any examination. At some little distance on the right could be traced two concentric and parabolic curves, at the common apex of which were the remains of what appeared at that distance to be a carn. These curved lines were said to be continued on the opposite slope of the hill.

Near the Head is also a single line, in many parts imperfect, which stretched across from near the same spot towards Porth Melgan. This line is marked on the Map, and at present hardly presents any defensive appearance. The camp at the Head, on the contrary, is one of considerable strength. The line of natural rocks has been taken advantage of, and supplemented in parts by artificial additions. The southern entrance, more especially, has been protected by a thick vallum of loose stones. Within are six perfect remains of circular habitations of a considerable diameter. Portions of less perfect circles can be traced. Outside the work are the remains of a cromlech, the covering stone of which is in an inclined position, one end resting on the ground. There is nothing unusual about it, except that the supporters were remarkably small and low for such

¹ The remains mentioned in the *History of St. Davids* (p. 39) were not on this occasion examined, from want of time.

a mass as the cap-stone. This may have been intentional, so as to avoid the necessity of making a longer inclined plane (by which the covering stone could be raised to its proper position) where loose soil was not easily procured. But whether intentional or not, the smallness of the supporters is unusual.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25.

The first portion of this day was spent in examining the Temporary Museum and buildings of interest in the town.

The church of St. Mary's, which was the first examined, is a very spacious structure and of remarkable length. The oldest portion is the west end, which is of the thirteenth century; but the greater portion of the building, nearly all of one period, is of a handsome late Decorated character. The building has been lately repewed, and restored internally; during which operation, it is feared, some sepulchral slabs of interest have vanished. It was stated, however, that one of the inferior officials had taken the precaution to copy all the inscriptions in the church. The only remaining monument of interest is situated at the west end, and represents apparently the figure of a merchant with his purse or bag suspended from the girdle. In it are three figures, which may be intended for ships of heraldic conventionality. It is probably of the fourteenth century, and is very fairly executed. Near it is pointed out what is called a "confessional," being a small stone chamber, or rather closet. Opposite the church is a small vaulted substructure of a dwellinghouse above. The latter has been replaced by a later building; but the former remains perfect. The very massive ribs are worthy of notice.

St. Martin's Church is now in the hands of the contractors, and is completely gutted. It is said to be of the thirteenth century; but the greater portion of the structure, which has undergone much mutilation, is later. There are some good sedilia and a piscina of the fourteenth century, and what is called a credence-table, but which appears to be a long narrow ledge let into the wall at an elevation greater than is usual.

St. Thomas' Church had been previously visited by some of the members. The tower and body of the church may be of any date, and appear to have succeeded an early building. The only curious object is the coffin-slab of the thirteenth century, on which a head only, above the cross, supplies the place of the whole effigies, as at Corwen Church and several other places in the Principality. The inscription, which occupies only one side of the stone, records the name of a friar called Richard le Pawmer, unless, as conjectured by the author of the brief notice on this stone in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1856 (p. 283, where its figure is given), it merely denotes brother Richard the Palmer, a pilgrim from the Holy Land. On the

left hand of the cross is a figure which has been supposed to represent a palm-branch, in confirmation of this suggestion.

A survey of the outside of the Castle was all that was made, the interior being inaccessible, and probably entirely mutilated and spoilt, to convert it into a gaol. The exterior view, however, of the massive wall and masonry is very imposing. The present structure may have been the work of some of the earls of Pembroke. It was so strong as to resist all attacks that have been made against it at various times, until the time of the Great Rebellion, when Colonel Stepney, then holding it for the crown, evacuated it before it was regularly besieged.

Soon after noon the excursionists proceeded in their carriages to Picton Castle, where they were entertained with princely hospitality by the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, the present proprietor. It is generally stated to be as old as the time of William Rufus; but although there may have been originally a castle or dwelling of some kind on the present site, the present structure cannot be placed at an earlier date than that of the Edwards. It consists of nearly a square enclosure protected by six large bastions. The entrance on the east side is protected by two smaller towers, at present partly encased in the modern addition to the buildings. The vaulted roof in one of the bastions (now used as a beer-cellar) is curious, and would seem to indicate a somewhat earlier date than the rest of the work. The peculiarity, however, may have arisen from local circumstances, as the whole Castle seems complete, and of one æra. The different stories of the bastions are now fitted up as dwelling or sleeping rooms. The vaulted passages and chambers below are appropriated to the servants and usual offices. Of the once existing moat and exterior defences no remains were seen. The Castle having from the first always been inhabited by the proprietors, so many alterations have been made from time to time, that beyond the great central building nothing is left of any other portions of the defences.

After admiring the extremely beautiful flower-gardens, and thanking their host, the excursionists resumed their carriages, which soon brought them to the Castle of Wiston, which had met with a very different fate from that of Picton. Of the Castle itself little is left but the remains of a strong circular keep, built on a steep, artificial hill surrounded by extensive courts still retaining, to a certain extent, their defences. This Castle was the seat of the Wogans, who came in with the first settlers, and who acquired it by marriage with the heiress of the Guise family. The structure is Norman, and was no doubt the work of the first settler of the Guise family, who, like most of their fellow invaders, contracted marriages with native heiresses. History informs us it was destroyed, in the thirteenth century, by Llewellyn ap Yorwerth, and never rebuilt, which appears to have been the case. A new building was erected, no doubt, on the site of the present modern looking mansion, now a farm-house. The interior of the ruined keep is choked up with rubbish. If this were removed, portions of the lower chambers may, perhaps, be discovered.

The church, now under extensive repairs at the expense of the Earl of Cawdor, is called in Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary* a plain Norman edifice; but is very unlike one, and exhibits no indications of Norman work. The building is very plain and unusually long, with a late cradle ceiling. There is a benitier on each side of the entrance tolerably perfect. The one on the right hand has a rude, plain, semicircular moulding running down its front. Some years ago there were two altar-shaped tombs of the Wogans, of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, which seem to have been removed; but at what time, and for what reason, did not appear, as the local and clerical authorities were not present.

The day's work concluded with a visit to "The Rath," so called, *par excellence*, as the grandest and most complete work of the kind in the district. It is, in fact, a very remarkable structure, still retaining immense capabilities as a place of defence even in the present day. It is remarkable for having a second enclosure defended by a vallum and ditch within its area on the western side. On the eastern side the slopes were steeper, and the defences more complete, so that the work seems to have been intended more as a defence against invaders on that side. At the north-east angle are the remains of foundations in dry masonry, as if an outwork of stone had been at one time in existence; but some doubt seemed to exist in the minds of the gentlemen present as to the real character of this additional work. Between these remains of masonry and the earthwork several human bones had been dug up a day or two before the Meeting, but replaced. As to the authors of this remarkable structure it is difficult to offer even a conjecture, except that it could hardly have been executed by roving invaders as a temporary retreat. Of the three supposed claimants, the native Britons seem to have the best claim.

The evening meeting commenced at the usual time by the PRESIDENT calling on Mr. BABINGTON to give an account of the excursions of the two preceding days. That gentleman, after briefly touching on the principal features of the buildings they had seen during the excursions, explained at considerable length the character of the primeval antiquities at St. David's Head, and of the grand earthwork they had last seen. This latter, he thought, must be pronounced native work, and not that of Roman or Danish.

On the conclusion of Mr. Babington's address, the Secretary read, for confirmation of the General Meeting, the resolutions adopted that day by the General Committee, announcing also that Rees Goring Thomas, Esq., had accepted the office of General Secretary for South Wales, and that the following gentlemen had joined the Association since Monday: the Rev. Edward Childe, Vicar of Kinlet, Shropshire; the Rev. C. Parry Jones of St. Davids; Frederick L'Estrange Clark, Esq., Pembroke; and Thomas Robinson, Esq., Swansea.

The PRESIDENT, after putting the resolutions of the Committee to the meeting, and the usual confirmation of the election of the new members, called on Dr. WOLLASTON for his lecture on British mosaics.

The walls of the room were covered with elaborately and admirably executed drawings of various examples, representing perfect fac-similes of the originals.

This gentleman, after giving at considerable length a general survey of mosaic works; the manner in which they were employed in ornamenting the walls and floors of houses, baths, etc.; the various illustrations thus recorded of domestic manners, religions, and national characteristics,—all more or less confirming the statements of history,—proceeded to notice more particularly those remains which Britain possessed. He thought that the Romans introduced the art into this country nearly one hundred years after the Christian æra, when the conciliating policy of Agricola had effected a state of comparative tranquillity. The best specimens were, therefore, found in the longer subdued and more peaceable districts of the eastern, southern, and western parts of Britain. Very few instances of the better class are found in the north, except in the vicinity of York, the northern capital. In the west and south-west of England, on the other hand, existed numerous villas exhibiting the elegant and luxurious habits of Roman life. Taking London as the southern capital and scene of departure to the more remote provinces, there is a series of tessellated pavements in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and in the eastern counties of Lincolnshire, Suffolk, and Essex, and also in some of the midland counties, as Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire. The subjects are mythology, games, animals, the chase, and in many cases merely geometrical figures. In Britain the colours were limited to five or six, according to the resources of the locality as to the colours of stones. Mosaics were also formed of clays hardened by fire, and sometimes tinted by mineral substances. Thus common brick, either red, black, or chocolate colour; the white and yellow stone of Bath, and the oolites, the blue lias, and various limestones, afforded the chief materials of manufacture. Certain deities seem to have been favourites. Thus no single instance of Jupiter was known to him, although there was a mosaic of Ganymede and a magnificent Juno with five stars on her forehead, encircled by a blue nimbus, as at Bignor, where also is preserved a humorous representation of comic gladiators. Bacchus was apparently a favourite. He usually rides on a panther, as in the Leadenhall-street mosaic, now in the East Indian Museum. One also of this device was found at Stonefield in Oxfordshire; and in one of the compartments of the "Four Seasons," discovered at Cirencester. Neptune and fishes also were favourite subjects, as at Cirencester and Whitcomb in Gloucestershire. Apollo, or rather his son, Alpheus, taming the beasts, occurs perhaps more frequently than any. We have examples at Cirencester, Woodchester, Newton near Bath, at two places in Lincolnshire, at Winterton and Horleston. A remarkable mosaic, now nearly obliterated, occurs at Brandon, representing the eight days of the week by the usual deities, of Apollo, Luna, etc. Dr. Wollaston con-

cluded his notices with some general remarks on the immense value and importance of such records; and how admirably they are adapted, in our wet climate, for the decoration of our walls, and especially in the Houses of Parliament. The oldest frescoes are even in Italy fast perishing, as those of Leonardo da Vinci at Milan. A series of life-size pictures would hand down to future generations the history of this country.

Mr. LE HUNTE, on the conclusion of Dr. Wollaston's lecture, read a notice of the Prendergast family, which had bequeathed its name to what is practically a large portion of the town of Haverfordwest. The notice will appear in the Journal.

As this was the last meeting of the Association on this occasion, the usual votes of thanks were returned to the President and other gentlemen who had so hospitably entertained the members at their houses during the week; to Admiral Stokes and the Local Committee, and to the contributors of the Museum; and more especially to Mr. Tombs and Mr. J. W. Phillips, the Treasurer, for their active and invaluable services.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 26.

The nature of this day's expedition, which was principally confined to the examination of the remains on the Prescelly Hills, reduced the excursionists to a moderate number. The first halt was made at the Tufton Arms. Near the inn, however, on the left hand side of the road, is a small earthwork, called "Castell" in the map, which could never have been a work of any importance. At a distance, however, of a mile, in a field to the left, was found a very fine circle, perfect with the exception of two or three stones, the highest of the existing ones measuring upwards of seven feet in height. In the next field was also a large pillar-stone, with two others near it, but prostrate. These latter, probably, are the remains of a larger group. Soon after this point the carriages were left, and the route continued on foot to the summit of Moel Cerwyn, now surmounted by one of the marks of the Ordnance surveyors. The tumulus on which this mark stands has been levelled within a few inches of the ground, so that were the present modern pile of stones removed, there would be presented a slightly raised circular space having a level surface. Lower down the western side of the mountain are two other tumuli, less in diameter than that just mentioned; where also are traces of stone buildings in dry masonry, and indications of a paved road leading down the hill. Soon after this the Via Flandrica was reached and traversed for some distance. Wherever the ground appeared more than usually boggy, a stratum of gravel had been placed, long since covered over with vegetation. Whence this remarkable, ancient tract obtained its Flemish designation, is un-

known, as there can be little doubt but that it is of much older date than those invaders. The numerous primæval remains that are to be found in greater or less proximity to the road, prove that there must have been a population and trackway along this line from a very early period, at a time when the lower portions of the country were morasses or endless forests. It is visible for many miles as a narrow slip of green colour, lighter than the ground through which it passes. The best judges are nearly unanimous in pronouncing it a British road or trackway.

After following it some time, the excursionists descended and returned to the small inn, where the carriages awaited them. After reinvigorating themselves with a substantial lunch prepared by the provident Local Secretary, Mr. Tombs, the excursionists proceeded for some time along the Julia Via until they came to the Roman station, *Ad Vicesimum*, the intervening one between *Maridunum* and *Menapia*, according to the *Itinerary* of Richard of Cirencester. The Roman road cuts it into nearly equal halves. It is of rectangular form, nearly approaching a square, with the angles slightly rounded off, and is enclosed by an earthen vallum, now much depressed by the effect of time and man. Many fragments of Roman brick are constantly brought to the surface by the plough, and there are besides certain irregularities in the soil which probably mark out the positions of buildings. Not far from it remains of hypocausts and other Roman indications exist, but seem to have attracted little attention. A small amount of trouble and money would disclose whatever remains this station may still retain.

A short distance beyond is a striking group of trap-rocks which assume a most picturesque effect. Among these are the remains of a large cromlech and gallery. The other one mentioned in the map could not be made out. There is also a fine pillar-stone.

This was the last place visited, as darkness was commencing, and Haverfordwest was still some miles distant. There was no evening meeting of members.

CATALOGUE OF THE TEMPORARY MUSEUM, HAVERFORDWEST.

PRIMÆVAL.

Specimens from caves and galleries near Tenby, consisting of bones and teeth of extinct and recent animals,—*elephas antiquus*, *rhinoceros*, *leptorhinus*, *felis tigris*, *hyæna spilæa*, *ursus spilæus*, *equus caballus*, *cervus alces*, etc.; with bones of fish, recent domesticated animals, and manufactured implements; among which were mixed flint knives, scrapers, cores of flint and trachyle from which the knives have been struck off;

Similar knives from Mount Lima, Mexico, and Red Hill;

Similar knives from certain barrows on a ridgway contiguous to the caves;

Three urns with remains of burnt bones, one of which is highly ornamented.

The Rev. Gilbert N. Smith.

Stone celt found embedded in a quarry at Llan in the parish of Llanvelteg;

Another from Henllan.

J. L. G. P. Lewis, Esq., Henllan.

Another from Llether in Brawdy parish.

J. W. Phillips, Esq., Haverfordwest.

Another from a tumulus near Llanrian, alluded to by Fenton (p. 34).

Mrs. Lloyd, Longhouse, Haverfordwest.

Another from

Mrs. Lewis Malthias, Lamphey Court.

Collection of stone celts from the parishes of Carnac and Erdeven, Brittany;

Obsidian mining tool from ancient mine at Peru.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

Fragments of two querns,—one from Talbenny parish, the other from Pencaer.

Mr. Jesse Harvey, Haverfordwest.

Specimens of the square-socketed celt from Finisterre, France;

Early form of celt without stops, and with very low flanges, procured in France, but place of finding not known;

Small socketed celt from Pont Mousson (Lorraine);

Ditto from Efenechtyd parish, Denbighshire ;
 Ornamented bronze celt. Locality unknown ;
 Paalstab from Glyn Ceiriog near Llangollen ;
 Three gouges of various forms. Locality unknown ;
 Bronze knife or dagger from a turbarry in Cyffylliog parish, Denbighshire ;
 Bronze armlet from Lorraine ;
 Bronze socket of uncertain use. Locality unknown.

Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

ROMAN.

Ring found at Abermarlais ;

Capt. Arengo Cross.

Intaglio set in gold ring ;

Another, but smaller.

Two marble slabs, supposed to have been taken from catacombs at Rome, inscribed

N . FVRI . N . L

PHILEROTIS.

HIC .

and SEEVINIA PROPHASIS.

Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, Picton Castle.

MEDIÆVAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

The Hirias Horne of Golden Grove.

The Earl of Cawdor.

Silver maces of the Corporation of Pembroke.

The Mayor of Pembroke.

Silver chalice.

Rev. W. Berrington.

Ditto.

Rev. P. Phelps, Lanstadwell.

Ditto and paten ;

Portion of a skull called that of St. Teilo.

Chalice and paten, Llangolman ;

Rev. Thos. Walters, Maenchlochog.

Bronze pipkin from site of Maenchlochog Castle.

George Le Hunte, Esq., Artramont, Wexford.

A neckerchief of Queen Elizabeth ;

A purse of Queen Mary ;

Ditto of Henry VIII ;

Hair of Queen Anne, with that of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough ;

Filigree silver patch-case ;

Bodkin-case in green with flowers ;

Needle ditto with flowers ;

Chatelaine, gilt ;

Snuff-boxes in gold and mother-of-pearl ;
 Black cup with medallions in carved ivory ;
 Etui-cases in shagreen, etc. ;
 Various enamelled boxes in porcelain ;
 Seals.

Mr. Hereford, Huntington Court, Hereford.

Ancient striking watch.

Mr. T. J. White, Haverfordwest.

Silver patch-box ;

Curious snuff-box (German).

Rev. J. Tombs.

Hand and ball (iron) found at the Rath.

Wm. Owen, Esq., Haverfordwest.

Crucifix.

Mrs. John Phillips, Haverfordwest.

Brass plate with masonic symbol from the coffin of a Wogan of Boulston.

Mr. Richard Richards, Dewshut, Haverfordwest.

Oak chest with CAR. REX. engraved.

Miss E. B. Gibbs, ditto.

Patch-box in gold and ivory, with oval medallion and hair, about 1720 ;
 Mariner's compass.

Tinder-box in form of pistol.

Rev. J. H. Phillips, Haverfordwest.

Ancient bell from Gumfreston Church, described by Giraldus as endowed with magic virtue, so that the common people in his time were more afraid to swear by it than the Holy Gospels. [This bell appears to be of later date than the period of Giraldus.]

Assyrian signet cylinder ;

Egyptian idol ;

Universal dial used as a watch.

Rev. G. N. Smith, Gumfreston, Haverfordwest.

Jug and bowl, 1688 ;

Ancient Dutch tiles.

Miss E. B. Gibbs, Haverfordwest.

Carved wooden spoon (Welsh).

George Le Hunte, Artramont, Wexford.

A large collection of various China pieces.

Mrs. John Phillips, Haverfordwest.

Snuff-box of Mrs. Jordan with her portrait.

Rev. P. Phelps, Llanstadwell.

Stone and wooden figures ;

A bell. [These articles were taken from the great Pagoda at Rangoon.]

Four specimens of carved ivory (Chinese and Indian) ;

Chopstick and knife (Chinese) ;

Fragment of the Royal George.

Mr. T. J. White, Haverfordwest.

Two specimens of painted glass.

Mr. Gwyther, Haverfordwest.

Olive wood from Jerusalem ;

Geological and natural history specimens.

The Literary Institution, Haverfordwest.

Chinese mariner's compass ;

Two seals.

James Bowen, Esq., Haverfordwest.

Oak carving of Vishnu.

S. Harford, Esq., Haverfordwest.

Glass cup, 1753 ;

Trumpeter's banner of H. Penry, Esq., High Sheriff of Caermarthenshire, 1756.

J. P. Jones, Esq., Sutton Lodge, Haverfordwest.

Chinese chessmen.

James Bowen, Esq., Haverfordwest.

RINGS.

Gold ring dug up from a tumulus near Picton Castle, bearing the arms of Sir Aaron ap Rhys, Knight of the Sepulchre. [Together with this ring were found a sword, a breastplate, and four horseshoes. The sword is considered to be of late date.]

Large gold ring with miniature of Catharine Philipps, ob. 1720 ;

Gold ring with enamel portrait ;

Large topaz set in gold ring ;

Antique silver ring.

Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, Picton Castle.

Gold ring found in a meadow near Tenby ;

Bronze ditto, found on the Castle Hill, Tenby.

Mr. Hereford, Huntington Court.

Memorial ring of the last male of the Wogans of Pembrokeshire.

J. Pavin Phillips, Esq.

ARMS.

Gun, 1548 ;

Ditto inlaid with pearl and ivory ;

Cross-bow ;

Powder-flask and shot-pouch, ivory.

Lewis Mathias, Esq., Lamphey Court.

Sword found with the ring of Sir Aaron ap Rhys.

Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, Picton Castle.

Two-handed sword ;

Curious brass musket with bayonet attached.

Baron F. de Rutzen.

Martel said to be from Bosworth Field.

H. P. Jones, Esq., Pembroke.

Musket dredged up off the Cornish coast.

Literary Institution of Haverfordwest.

Stiletto.

Mr. W. M. Phillips, Haverfordwest.

Malay creese.

Rev. S. Brown, Little Haven.

Turkish sword silver mounted ;
Nepaul sword.

Miss E. B. Gibbs, Haverfordwest.

COINS, MEDALS, ETC.

Noble, angel, and half-angel, found at Tintern Abbey ;
Various copper and silver coins.

T. R. Owen, Esq.

A collection of gold, silver, and copper coins.

Mr. J. B. Henley, Haverfordwest.

Half-noble of Edward III ; found in the river Cleddy ;

Guineas of Charles II and Anne ;

Various silver coins, including a groat of Edward III.

Rev. J. Tombs.

Guinea, 1726 ;

Portuguese gold piece ;

A quarter-guinea. All found at the Greyhound, Haverfordwest.

Mr. J. Brown, Haverfordwest.

Twenty-shilling piece of Oliver Cromwell ;

Various gold coins of Elizabeth, James I, Cromwell, Charles II,
James II, William and Mary, Anne ;

Portuguese gold piece ;

First and second brass of Vespasian ;

Coins of Alphonse, Port., 1438 and 1481 ;

Bronze medal of Pius VI ;

Large silver medal of Charles II ;

Small ditto.

Mrs. Hereford, Huntington Court.

A number of small brass of the Lower Empire ;

Part of a large number ploughed up near Newhouse, Canaston,
Pembrokeshire.

Albert de Rutzen, Esq., Slebech Hall.

Penny of Henry II from a garden at Haverfordwest ;

Halfpenny of Charles II taken out of north porch of St. Mary's
Church, Haverfordwest ;

Brass coin from churchyard of St. Thomas, Haverfordwest.

J. Pavin Phillips, Esq.

Other undescribed coins were exhibited by the Rev. J. H. A. Philipps
of Picton Castle ; Miss E. B. Gibbs ; Mr. Wm. Llewellyn ;
Mrs. John Phillips ; Mr. W. Ellis Jones ; William Owen, Esq. ;
Mr. John Warr,—all of Haverfordwest ; and the Rev. P.
Phelps of Llanstadwell.

MANUSCRIPTS, DEEDS, ETC.

A collection of pedigrees in three volumes, folio. This valuable collection consists partly of transcripts and partly of original pedigrees, in which the collateral branches are frequently added; collected out of almost all the known collections existing. The great bulk of the work seems to have been completed in the early part of the last century, with a few additions by later hands.

The Earl of Cawdor.

Deeds of Richard II, 1397;
Edward IV, 1461;
Henry VIII, 1509.

The Corporation of Haverfordwest.

List of Mayors.

Deed, 1567, about a right of way in Pembrokeshire;
List of free scholars of Haverfordwest School, 1648;
Marriage certificate of Philip and Ann Harry, 1651.

J. Pavin Philipps, Esq.

Collection of deeds.

J. P. Jones, Esq., Sutton Lodge, Haverfordwest.
Deeds of Butler, 1584; Barlow, 1651; Leonard, 1664; Philipps (Haythog), 1679.

Miss E. B. Gibbs.

Old diary, beginning of the eighteenth century.

Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, Picton Castle.

RUBBINGS, DRAWINGS, PRINTED BOOKS, ETC.

Rubbing from a brass in Stoke D'Alborne Church, Surry.

P. J. Vaillant, Esq., Thornton.

Rubbings from monuments of the Adams family in St. Mary's Church, Pembroke.

Rev. D. W. Morris, Pembroke.

Rubbings and drawing of a stone in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Fishguard.

Rev. W. Rowlands.

Three volumes of etchings by Titian, Salvator Rosa, and Albert Durer;
Map of Milford Haven, 1712;
Common Prayer (first edition);
Genealogical table of the kings of Wales.

Rev. J. H. A. Philipps, Picton Castle.

Holbein's Portraits.

P. J. Vaillant, Esq., Thornton.

Enderby's *Cambria Triumphans*, first ed., large paper, with the autograph of Fabian Philipps, the author of *Veritas Inconculsa*. It

has also the autograph (1753) and MS. notes of Morris Lewis the genealogist, into whose hands the volume passed.

Gwyllym's *Heraldry*, fourth edition, 1660. Suppressed at the Restoration on account of its containing the titles of Oliver's creatures. See preface to the fifth edition.

The work of Mrs. Catharine Philipps, *The Matchless Orinda*, 1678. Bible, once the property of Mrs. Wogan of Boulston, the only surviving child of the aforesaid Catharine Philipps. On the fly-leaf are her MS. notes of the birth of Catharine Wogan and sixteen of her children.

Brown's *Vulgar Errors*, second edition.

J. Pavin Philipps, Esq.

A drawing, to scale, of the skull and horns of *bos primogenitus*, in which the flint celt still remained infixed wherewith it had been knocked down. The skull is now in the Woodwardian Museum. Drawing of a flint celt with handle corresponding with one dredged up in the river Boyne.

Drawings of the Manobeer and other cromlechs.

A case of Chinese drawing-books remarkable for outline of touch and figure.

Rev. Gilbert N. Smith, Gurfreston.

HAVERFORDWEST MEETING.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Tickets and Museum	14	13	6	By payment for Hall and			
Donations	20	17	0	Gas	2	7	6
				Workmen, various, and			
	35	10	6	Attendant	2	15	9
				Carriage, Portage, etc.	1	12	1
				Postage and Stationary	3	14	8
				Printing	5	5	9
				Advertising	1	10	0
				Commission on Tickets	1	17	6
				Sundries	3	9	6
				Balance	12	17	9
					35	10	6

(Signed) { JOHN WILLIAM PHILLIPS, *Local Treasurer*.
JOSEPH TOMBS, *Local Secretary*.
C. C. BABINGTON, *Chairman of Committee C. A. A.*

To assist towards the expenses of the Meeting, which are borne by the Association, a local fund has been raised, to which the following sums were contributed :

	£	s.	d.
The Earl of Cawdor	5	0	0
J. H. Scourfield, Esq., M.P., the President	5	0	0
Rev. James Allen	2	2	0
Jonas Dawkins, Esq., the Mayor of Pembroke	1	1	0
George White, Esq., the Mayor of Tenby	1	1	0
The Ven. Archdeacon Clark, Tenby	1	1	0
Chas. Allen, Esq., Tenby	1	1	0
N. A. Roch, Esq., Paakeston, Pembroke	1	1	0
Harry Phelps Goode, Esq., the Mayor of Haverford- west	1	0	0
R. Llewellyn, Esq., Tregwynt, Haverfordwest	1	0	0
J. Nightingale, Esq., Wilton	1	0	0
Mr. Benjamin Rees, Haverfordwest	0	10	0
	£20	17	0

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